Prof. N. S. Gorekar, M.A.

GLIMPSES OF URDU LITERATURE

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BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

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AND

AN INTRODUCTION

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TO

MY

PROFESSORS

نذر کیا کر سکے عقیدت کیش
برگ سبز است تحفۂ درویش

PREFACE

THIS small volume covers the substance of a series of four lectures delivered at the request of the Bombay University during the month of May, 1959, as a part of the University Extension Courses. It is only an attempt at surveying the entire range of Urdu language and literature in the English language.

The treatment of the subject has inevitably been impersonal and the main object of these lectures has been to put in high relief those factors which have been responsible not only for the birth, growth and popularity of the language but also for ushering in a new outlook in the realm of Urdu literature.

It is at the insistence of the friends interested in the development and in the diffusion of correct notions of the Urdu language that I am induced to place this small volume in the hands of the public with the hope that this will be looked upon with favour and its shortcomings, if any, will be brought to my notice to enable me to make necessary changes in the second edition.

I am greatly indebted to the Syndicate of the Bombay University for having given me an opportunity to deliver a series of lectures on Urdu, to Dr. Rafīq Zakariā for having written a scholarly *foreword* and to Professor Najīb Ashraf Nadvī for his learned *introduction* to this volume, a resume of lectures. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Giān Chand Jāin of Government Hamidia College, Bhopal, and to Professor E. Mendonca of St. Xavier's College who have given me fruitful suggestions, and to Mr. Jaman H. Shah of Jaico Publishing House for taking personal interest in the production of this volume. Finally I wish to offer my grateful thanks to Rev. J. Correia-Afonso, S.J., Executive Director, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Mr. V. G. Moghe and Mr. A. M. D'Souza of the Bombay University Press, and all those friends, particularly Mr. Bernard Anderson of the Bombay University Library, Mr. Ḥāmid-ul-lāh Nadvī of the Anjuman-i-Islam Urdu Research Institute Library, Mr. Dominic Fernandes of the St. Xavier's College Library, Professor E. Rodrigues of Wilson College, and Mr. Ramesh Sanzgiri, Deputy Art Director of the Times of India, who have assisted me in their various capacities, and all those authors whose works I have studied with pleasure and profit.

BOMBAY, JUNE 22, 1961 N. S. GOREKAR

FOREWORD

EVER since its birth Urdu has been a controversial language: it was so under the Mughals and thereafter the British, and has remained so even after independence. Partition, if anything, has added to the edge of that controversy. And still because of its sweetness the language continues to live. I have little doubt that it will not only survive but flourish in India despite all the efforts that are being made to throttle it.

My friend, Prof. N. S. Gorekar of St. Xavier's College, who has rendered great services to the cause of Urdu in the State of Maharashtra—especially his work for the advancement of Urdu at the University of Bombay is a marvel of leadership—has written a simple and lucid account of its growth and development. In fact, this small book is an essay in historical presentation as well as literary criticism.

For my part, I have always been intrigued by the controversy that has raged round Urdu. It became

intensified when Hindi in its modern form, came on the scene. Immediately there was a clash between these two sister languages ; starting as a fight between the Hindu and Muslim intellectuals it developed into a major problem, affecting adversely the whole gamut of Hindu-Muslim relations. As early as 1867, Sir Sāiyed told his superior officer, Mr. Shakespeare, that he was convinced after the anti-Urdu agitation of the Hindus that was then going on in North India that there was no hope for any kind of joint action by Hindus and Muslims. Muslims, he said, had to organise themselves on their own to safeguard their heritage.

However, in order to understand the Hindi-Urdu controversy which incidently was confined to the North, it must be viewed in its historical perspective. As is well-known, ever since the beginning of the eleventh century, India was under the Muslim rulers but their rule was by no means a harmonious affair. The rulers at different times belonged to different races and consequently, they spoke different languages. The Afghāns spoke Pushtū, the Turks from Mangolia, Turkī, and the Mughals, the Persian. But throughout the Muslim period, the language did not alter much ; with slight variations it was the same language in which Ḥasan Māimandī conducted the affairs of the state under the Ghaznavids. That language was Persian and it continued to be the court language till 1835 when Lord Bentinck abolished it. On the

Muslims the effect of this was considerable. According to Manshardt it produced 'a genuine feeling of discontent among the orthodox Muslim masses.'

Besides, the soldiers of the Imperial Army, though belonging to different races, also conversed in Persian. In fact, knowledge of the language was compulsory for them. But while wandering in the streets and bazars of North India, they found that Persian was not of much help. Through it they could not make themselves understood by either the Hindus or the converted Muslims. Necessity, therefore, created a new language—a mixture of Persian and Biraj Bhāshā, the language commonly spoken by people in several parts of North India. Soon it became known as Urdu, which in Turkish means army. As to how exactly it originated and when and where there are many theories. Grahame Bailey, after analysing these theories, came to the conclusion that the formation of Urdu began as soon as the Ghaznavid forces settled in Lahore in 1027. Prof. Gorekar has dilated at length, on this aspect in his book which gives us a good peep into the origin of Urdu.

Again Hindi is also not one language but it is a mixture of many local dialects of North India. In its wider sense, it can be said to be the language spoken in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and East Punjab. A great deal, however, is common between Hindi and Urdu—at least much of their

grammar is the same. To quote John Beames: 'This common dialect had its origin apparently in the country round Delhi, the ancient capital, and the form of Hindi spoken in that neighbourhood was adopted by degrees as the basis of a new phase of the language, in which though the inflexions of nouns and verbs remained purely and absolutely Hindi and a vast number of the commonest vocables were retained, a large quantity of Persian and Arabic and even Turkish words found a place, just as Latin and Greek words do in English. Such words, however, in no way altered or influenced the language itself which, when its inflectional or phonetic elements are considered, remains still a pure Aryan dialect, just as pure in the pages of Walī or Sāudā as it is in those of Tulsīdās or Behārīlāl. It betrays, therefore, a radical misunderstanding of the whole bearings of the question and of the whole science of philology, to speak of Urdu and Hindi as two distinct languages.' Moreover, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* explains: 'This extreme Persianisation of Urdu was due rather to Hindu than to Persian influence. Although Urdu Literature was Musalman in its origin, the Persian element was first introduced in excess by the pliant Hindu officials employed in the Mughal administration.'

At first Urdu was only a spoken language but soon it came to be written. Being more used by the Imperial Army, it was naturally written in the Persian script.

The Hindus on the other hand wrote it in the Nāgrī script. Moreover, while the former made greater use of Persian words, the latter retained much of their Sanskrit vocabulary. That was how, in fact, the distinction between Hindi and Urdu subsisted and became more and more marked. Under the British the situation became worse by the appointment of Māulvīs for Urdu posts and Paṇdits for Hindi posts. There could have been no better impetus for the consolidation of separate trends in the two languages which had yet to be properly fused into one.

Further, as Urdu began to develop, a literature grew around it. At first it was extremely simple and conversational in style, perhaps, because the contributions were mostly from ordinary soldiers. Later, however, it became too ornamental, adorned with all kinds of Persian and Arabic expressions. The style also varied, it became artificial and drew inspiration from foreign models. The common, every day idioms came to be in lesser use, with the result that it became less palatable to the Hindus, though many of them continued to specialise in it.

However, in the beginning, Urdu had no official recognition. In fact, not till the reign of S̲h̲āh Jahāṇ was it accepted as a respectable language. From then on it flourished and developed. In the court life of the latter Mug̲h̲als its position was supreme, and in Bahādur S̲h̲āh, the last Mug̲h̲al Emperor, it founded not only a great patron but one of its most gifted poets.

Under the British it received an equally great stimulus. In fact, after the abolition of Persian as the court language, Urdu was given that status in many parts of North India. Moreover, the encouragement that it received at the hands of British officials and scholars, considerably stimulated the growth of modern Urdu literature; in particular, Dr. Gilchrist rendered yeoman's service to its cause. Besides, among the British administrators there was a growing fondness for Urdu. As early as in 1842 Lord Lawrence had declared that 'the use of this tongue is rapidly spreading among all ranks and is becoming a *lingua franca*.'

However, Urdu, because of its ineffectual mass following, could not retain unchallenged for long its pre-eminent position; soon the British administrators were faced with the question: which was the language of North India, Urdu as written in the Persian script or Hindi with its Nāgrī script? Hindus were more and more insistent that Urdu did not satisfy their needs and mus be replaced by Hindi. By 1870 they formed several organisations to propagate their views while the Paṇdits in Benaras started an active anti-Urdu campaign. The Muslims, on the other hand, were equally opposed to the introduction of Hindi in courts and offices. They maintained that Hindi was too vulgar and commonplace a language to be given official recognition—it lacked both poise and dignity. They denied that Urdu was a Muslim

language. It was, they said, the language of both Hindus and Muslims and threfore, must be allowed to retain its 'well-deserved' position.

At first the British officials did not pay much attention to this controversy, but when Sir George Campbell became the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal it took a different turn. He was particularly impressed by the conclusions of some of his educational officers who emphasized that Urdu was not acceptable to a large majority of Hindus. According to these officers, the real language of the Hindus, particularly in Bihar, was some kind of Hindi written in the Kāithī script. The Lieutenant Governor, therefore, declared in 1872, that as an experimental measure, in future Hindi in the Nāgrī character would replace Urdu in the Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions, with the exception that (1) where anything had to be written in such documents as processes, notifications, proclamations, bonds and attestations, it might be written in Kāithī, and (2) that the Persian character should be retained for the regular office writing, care being taken that the language used was simple and in common use and not foreign and artificial. The reason which prompted Sir Campbell to take this action was the presentation of an address to him couched in the choicest Urdu; as the *Indian Observer* pointed out: 'This address, which was probably one of welcome and had pressed into its service

the whole vocabulary of sweet adulation, has had an effect very different to what its authors expected. Unable to comprehend the ornate language of this panegyric, Sir Campbell came to the satisfactory conclusion that as he himself could not be in fault the language must naturally be to blame. He objected to be told in what he supposed to be 'a farrago of bad Arabic and Persian' that the moon had broken her neck in gazing up at the exaltation of his horn and that the sun's face had become yellow with jealousy of the rival luminary of Bengal.'

The Hindu protagonists of Hindi were considerably heartened by his attitude and Hindi Prachār Sabhās sprang up in several cities. They aimed at replacing Urdu by Hindi wherever the former was recognised as an official language. Naturally, this caused much resentment among the Muslims. The *Indian Observer*, an influential Anglo-Indian newspaper of the time, attacked the new policy and the motives underlying it. Sir Campbell, however, refused to listen to these protests; he was convinced of the soundness of his own stand. But in practice perhaps because of the Muslim hue and cry, he considerably mitigated the strictness of some of his directives. Under his successor, Sir Richard Temple, the order was much less severely imposed, with the result that Hindi could not make much headway. This was resented by several Hindu leaders not in Bihar so much as in the then United Provinces. In Benares Bābū Fateḥ Naraiṇ Singh

organised a big pro-Hindi movement, which soon spread to other parts of North India. In this he and his colleagues received considerable help and encouragement from Surendra Nāth Bānerjī and his influential paper, the *Bengali*.

Under Sir Ashley Eden's administration the subject of Hindi was, therefore, reconsidered and many European officers advised that a firmer stand in favour of Hindi must be taken by the Government. Hence the orders of the Government of Bengal, dated the 13th April, 1880, directing the substitution of the Kāithī or Nāgrī for the Persian character in the courts and offices of Bihar.

Explaining the policy underlying those orders Secretary Reynolds pointed out: 'The Subject (of Hindi) has been under discussion for the last seven years, but the orders issued by the Government appear to have been practically ignored. The orders of the 2nd April, 1874 and the 9th July, 1875, which reiterated previous orders of Hindi and Nāgrī character in the courts and offices of the Patna, Bhagalpur and Chhota Nagpur Divisons, directed that all processes, notifications and proclamations should be made in Hindi, the official records should be kept in Hindi; that petitions should be received at the option of the presenters in the Hindi or Urdu character; and that a knowledge of the Hindi character should be insisted on in the case of police and ministerial officers.' In practice, however, most of these orders were ignored.

Sir Ashley Eden, therefore, after a careful consideration, came to the conclusion that the changes enjoined by the Government would never be thoroughly introduced until Nāgrī or Kāithī was made the exclusive official character of Bihar. Accordingly, it was so decreed from the 1st of January, 1881; at the same time the use of Persian character in the courts, except as exhibits, was 'absolutely forbidden.' Moreover, police officers and *'amlāhs* were warned that if they could not read and write the Nāgrī character, they would be replaced by those who could. Justifying these steps, the Government emphasised how anxious it had been to relieve the hardship of the Hindus of Bihar, who had 'no medium of inter-communication with the authorities except a character alien to them.'

Naturally, these orders hit hard many Muslims, who, because of Persian character being in use in the courts, had enjoyed a great share in the employment as *'amlāhs* or *mukhtārs*. Besides, many Muslims were able to make their living as pleaders and touts, as a result of Persian usage in courts. The substitution of a new script made their position miserable; they, therefore, petitioned the Government not to be carried away by 'cheap sentimentalism' and sacrifice administrative efficiency to it. In fact, on behalf of these Muslims, Lord Stanley questioned the Secretary of State in the House of Lords on these orders; Lord Northbrooke replied that they were promulgated in

the interests of the natives of Bihar. Among the Hindus the new orders were widely welcomed. Expressions of gratitude to the Government came from wealthy landlords of several districts in Bihar; as also from the Maharajas of Boltiah, Dumraon, Durbhanga and Halwa. However, to palacate the Muslims the Government emphasised that the new official language was not to be the Hindi of the Paṇdits but was to admit freely into its composition the more commonly used Arabic and Persian words.

Neverthless, as a result of these measures, feelings between Hindus and Muslims were strained as never before. They were still worsened by the aggressively communal attitude of many newspapers. In fact, at one time the relations between the two communities became so estranged that Bābū Sandiāl, President of the Hindi Prachār Sabhā, started correspondence with Sir Sāiyed with a view to arrive at some compromise. In his replies Sir Sāiyed was polite and sympathetic. But the respective stands of the two leaders were so fundamentally different that no settlement could be arrived at. On the contrary, after this correspondence, Sir Sāiyed publicly denounced the pro-Hindi agitation and said 'The adoption of the Nāgrī character and the Hindi language will greatly injure educated Musalmans in both official and private life. It will, in fact, be the greatest injury save deprivation of their religion.' On his advice some leading Muslims in the Punjab,

formed the Anjuman-i-Ḥimāyat-i-Urdu to safeguard the interests of Urdu. But for their efforts Sir John Strachey might have followed the same course in the then North Western Provinces as his colleagues had done in Bihar. Besides, when Sir Sāiyed learnt that the Hindus in the North Western Provinces also intended to petition Government for the introduction of Nāgrī character in courts and offices, he immediately convened a meeting at Allahābād where the continued and exclusive use of Urdu was urged. Furthermore, for impressing this view on the Government and as also for propagating it among the people a Central Committee was formed with Sir Sāiyed as its Secretary.

Meanwhile, the appointment of the Education Commission in 1882 gave the Hindus a further opportunity to press for Hindi. This time they did not confine their demand for its introduction into the courts and offices alone; they also wanted that it should be universally taught in all primary and secondary schools of North India. In memorials after memorials, signed by thousands of Hindus, they made it clear that they hated the very idea of their children being taught in Urdu. To quote from one memorial—and this was couched in much milder terms than many others—'Urdu, a hybrid production of mostly Arabic and Persian, was forced upon us by our former rulers... but it was never accepted by the people at large...No Hindu gentleman would ever condescend to educate

his females in Urdu and Persian because the books written in these languages are generally obscene and tend to have a demoralising effect on the character...' Again, this from a memorial of about 500 Hindu graduates and under-graduates: 'alien and upstart language—Urdu. We emphatically say that Urdu is not the real spoken language of the people of this province.' Apart from sentiments, every conceivable argument was advanced against Urdu—It was 'a pure and simple survival of the old Muslim tyranny in India'; it was 'too cumbersome, alien and difficult for Hindu boys to learn; it did not satisfy the religious and social aspirations of the Hindus'; its script was 'Arabic, which, being the sacred language of the Muslims, would never be touched by the orthodox Hindus', so on and so forth. Their plea, whether in the Punjab, the North Western Provinces or Bihar was the same. 'If the Urdu language be done away with, and our vernacular, the Hindi Bhāshā, be introduced in its place, our students will be able to learn it in a shorter time with comparative ease and greater facility than at present and devote a greater portion of their time to the study of English.'

As against these efforts by the Hindus for the introduction of Hindi, the Muslims did very little for the cause of Urdu. For instance, while numerous Hindu associations and no less than 58,289 Hindus in the North Western Provinces alone petitioned the Commission in favour of Hindi, only one address,

signed by few individuals, claiming to be 'the representatives of the Muḥammedan community in the Districts of 'Alīgarh and Bulandshahr and the Moḥammedan Association of Rurki and Meerut,' was received in favour of Urdu. In the Punjab, however, a better organisational effort was made, mainly due to the initiaive of Mr. (later Sir) Faḍl-i-Ḥusāin, but it was nothing as compared to the memorials and petitions of the Hindus. Moreover, in this controversy, strangely enough, the Muslims made out their case on non-communal grounds. To quote from one of their memorials: 'Urdu is not our religious or national tongue. Nor is it imported here from any foreign country. It is the product of India itself. It owes its origin to the joint action of both the Hindus and Muḥammedans.' They, therefore, pleaded with the Commission that 'the question of Hindi Bhāshā and Urdu or that of the Persian and Nāgrī characters is no longer such as may easily admit of a general solution or may be supposed to form part of the educational question. The fact is that it has now assumed the shape of a political question.' In its Report the Education Commission did not give much consideration to this controversy; in most places it refused to disturb the *status quo*.

Undaunted, however, the Hindus continued with their pro-Hindi agitation. But with the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the educated Hindus became less interested in the language problem

and more concerned about political and constitutional issues. Besides, as years rolled on, the Congress leaders began emphasising more and more the virtues of Hindu-Muslim unity: they, therefore, refused to encourage any movement which would alienate the Muslims from the Hindus. This policy continued for many years despite the fact that Sir Sāiyed and the other Muslim leaders of North India continued to be suspicious of the Congress and openly denounced its activities.

However, in 1898 the leading Hindus of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, under the leadership of some of the Paṇdits from Benares, waited in deputation upon Sir Antony MacDonnel, the then Governor of the North Western Provinces, who, as the Commissioner of Patna under Sir Goege Campbell, was actively associated with the introduction of the Nāgrī character in Bihar. Naturally, the deputation was filled with high hopes. In his reply Sir Antony, while deprecating any hasty change in the existing practice of the courts and Government offices, to which the public as well as the officers of Government had become accustomed, admitted that some advantage might be anticipated from the more general use of the Nāgrī character in official transactions.

Though the reply was not completely satisfactory to the deputationists, they knew that, if they continued with their efforts, better results could certainly be

achieved. In this they were not wrong. In less than two years, much of their demand was conceded by a Government resolution. Though the Persian character was not abolished, the Nāgrī character was given equal place. Moreover, equal facilities were offered for its use in courts and offices and it was decreed that 'no person shall be appointed, except in a purely English office, to any ministerial appointment henceforward unless he can read and write both the Nāgrī and Persian character fluently.'

Naturally, this infuriated the Muslims considerably; the new policy not only hit them economically but also culturally. They could bear the abolition of Urdu in Bihar but to strike against it in its very home: the North Western Provinces was too much. Besides, they felt the blow rather intensely because it came so soon after the death of Sir Sāiyed; somehow they believed that if he was alive such a disaster would never have befallen them. The anger and pathos that surged in their breast were thus summarised in an editorial by the *Moslem Chronicle*: 'Against the united voice of a people, against the convincing arguments of the learned, against the most obvious and palpable reasoning of grammar and orthography, against all considerations of refinement and culture, against the most commonsense view of propriety, an edict such as the introduction of a jargon which was till now confined to the library of the Banniahs and Modis, is being

thrust down the throats of an unwilling people with the *imprimature* of authority. Pestered and petitioned by a reckless clique, whose prejudice is stronger than its education or intelligence, whose fad is more powerful than good sense, and whose race feelings are more potent than culture or enlightenment, the model satrap of the North Western Provinces has allowed the fiat to go forth that the polished language in which Ghālib sang and Sāudā spoke should make way, as the court language, for the *patois* that was honoured till long, as no more than yellow dried palm leaves. The question of Urdu vs Nāgrī, it may be said, was a contest between refinement and culture on the one hand and prejudice and barbarism on the other. And if the fiat remains as it is, history will have to tell a vandalic chapter as to how British administrator by one stroke of his pen dealt a death blow to the cause of culture and refinement.'

Soon resentment against Sir Antony among the Muslims began to mount; he was called 'an enemy of Islam' and 'a pro-Hindu satrap.' Within less than a month after the promulgation of the new regulations, the *Pioneer* reported 'considerable dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Muḥammedan community.' The 'Alīgarh leaders were forced into action; in fact, into a kind of 'rebellion' which they had always detested and shunned. This time, however, the matter was considered too serious to be ignored, and hence on the 13th of May, 1900, Nawwāb Moḥsin-ul-Mulk called at

'Alīgarh a representative meeting of some leading Muslims from Lahore, Lucknow, Meerut, Badāyūn, Delhi, Bulandshahar, Agra and from several other places in the North Western Provinces. In his speech, the Nawwāb spoke of the 'widespread alarm and dissatisfaction' among the Muslims that the Government circular had caused but cautioned them that in all their criticism of the measure and in all their attempts to obtain its modification they must remember that they were the loyal subjects of a Government which had always the interest of its people at heart and that though they might look upon the measure as one likely to prove 'detrimental to their interests they must also remember that it was actuated by no hostile intention.' He, however, admitted that the consequences of Government's decision might be 'most far-reaching and serious.' Soon Urdu might be completely replaced by Hindi in Government departments, notwithstanding the 'optional clause' of the measure, and its 'ill effects', Moḥsin-ul-Mulk continued, 'would ere long be manifest in education, in commerce and in social relations.' He and his colleagues never believed in any kind of agitation before; they always relied on the good will and sagacity of their rulers. But this was a very serious situation and they were bound by the instinct of self-preservation and by the duty which they owed to posterity to raise their voice in respectful but vigorous protests.

In supporting the Nawwāb, Mr. Theodore Morison the then Principal of the M. A. O. College, 'Alīgarh characterized the Government's decision as 'the reversal of British policy' which had always been a recognition of Urdu as the official language of those provinces. At the end of the meeting a telegram couched in polite terms was sent to the Lieutenant Governor in which among other things he was informed of a proposed mass memorial.

Elaborate arrangements were then made to hold a big meeting of Muslims in North India to protest against the Hindi circular. A Urdu Defence Association was formed and under its auspices pamphlets were issued, funds collected and leading Muslims were chosen as delegates. In this Muslim landlords of the then United Provinces of Agra and Oudh took a prominent part; so did the Muslim pleaders and traders who believed that the circular hit them no less than their co-religionists in the Government's employ. The said meeting took place in Lucknow on the 18th of August, 1900, amidst much enthusiasm and in the full blaze of publicity in the Urdu press.

In his Presidential Address, Moḥsin-ul-Mulk, while upholding 'the policy of non-intervention in general political questions as laid down by the late Sir Sāiyed', emphasised that it was 'obligatory upon us to endeavour to keep our language alive and if to our great misfortune,

this great meeting and future efforts of the kind fail to save it, we should at least have the consolation of knowing that we have given it a funeral worthy of its great place and dignity and that we have fought for it by every constitutional means in our power.' According to the *Pioneer* this reference to the possible fate of Urdu brought ' tears to the eyes of many in the audience.'

No less than ten resolutions on the various aspects of this controversy were passed; most of them prayed for the withdrawal of the 'unjust' circular. Then there was the following resolution moved by the famous novelist, Māulanā 'Abd-ul-Ḥalīm Sharar and seconded by Paṇdit Kedār Nāth: 'Resolved that as the literature of India in general and of North India in particular is contained solely in the Urdu language as a result of having been continually patronised by Government and that as it has served the object of keeping the people and Government informed regarding the intentions of each other, as no other language has done, it is the duty of Government to preserve, strengthen and advance this ancient literature particularly in the provinces which are its centre.'

Moreover, it was decided to present by a deputation to the Lieutenant Governor a memorial ' embodying the facts and arguments in support of the foregoing resolutions.' Steps were also taken towards the

formation of a permanent association 'to defend and advance the Urdu language.' But it was not till 1903 that the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was founded with Mr. (later Sir) Thomas Walker Arnold as its President and Māulānā Shiblī No'amānī as its Secretary.

All these moves on the part of the Muslim leaders only made the Lieutenant Governor more angry. Far from inducing him to withdraw the order, it led him to take a firmer stand on the issue. In his speech at Benares, Sir Antony described the agitation as 'fomented' by 'some Muslims,' and decried it as 'unreasonable and mischievous.' He expressed his pleasure at the fact that Kunwar 'Alī Khān, 'the most respectable Muḥammedan Zamīndār' had decided to resign the presidentship of the Urdu Defence Association after the Lieutenant Governor had 'convinced' him that he (Nawwāb) was misled in this matter. That was, indeed, a big blow to the agitators—to be deprived of the leader right in the thick of the battle. Sir Antony's next step was to force Moḥsin-ul-Mulk to severe all his connections with the Urdu movement. At first the latter refused to give in but later, when the Lieutenant Governor during his visit to 'Alīgarh made it clear to the trustees that Moḥsin-ul-Mulk would not be allowed to carry on as the Secretary of the M. A. O. College if he did not give up the pro-Urdu agitation, he had to retreat. This completely unnerved the agitators. Moḥsin-ul-

Mulk's resignation was soon followed by the withdrawal of many other prominent Muslims. Within less than a year, the whole affair fizzled out, most unceremoniously.

However, its repurcussions proved to be far-reaching, as the *Muslim Chronicle* put it: 'It is needless to say that we can think of no other question in recent times which has more to answer for the existence of the bad blood and tension between Muslims and Hindus than the egregious language blunder of Sir Antony MacDonnell.' For years this resolution remained the bone of contention between the two communities—it foiled all efforts at unity. Even as late as 1903, the *'Alīgarh Institute Gazette* reminded both the Hindus and Muslims that 'If a single resolution of Government can create discord and disaffection, the inherent weakness of our position as allies and fellow countrymen must be obvious to all. Indeed, so badly off we are in this respect that we have often thought that it was more a case for prayers rather than prescription.'

The above observations are based on the research done by me for my thesis entitled *Muslims in Indian Politics (1885-1906)* which was submitted by me for the degree of doctor of philosophy, and approved by the London University in 1948.

Prof. Gorekar safely avoids any reference in his book to the Hindi-Urdu controversy, as he should have, because much of the heat of that controversy belongs now to the past. Hindi has become the *lingua franca* of India and Urdu is only one of the fourteen languages included in our Constitution. However, as Prof. Gorekar has so well explained, there is so much *Indian* about Urdu that there is no reason why the language should not grow, simultaneously with the growth of Hindi, which is after all closer to Urdu than any other Indian language.

BOMBAY, 11TH JUNE, 1961 RAFIQ ZAKARIA

INTRODUCTION

IT is undeniable that the major contribution of Muslim rule to the cultural heritage of India is the political and linguistic unification of the country. The Muslim rulers attempted successfully to unify the country under one rule and one flag and thus promote the healthy consciousness of one nation and one country. For the promotion of this ideal they also tried to unite the country linguistically and carried with them, wherever they went, *Kharī Bolī*, the language spoken in Delhi and its suburbs. It is because of the success of this effort, spread over centuries, that India is today proud of a common language more or less intelligible throughout the country. The Muslim rulers were still more ambitious and tried to get the language internationally recognized. To achieve this end they pursuaded the people to learn this language in *Arabic script*. This common language of India written in Arabic script, has been called *Hindi*, *Hindustānī*, *Hindavī*, *Rikhtāh* and *Urdu*, while in the south of Vindyachal, it is known as *Dakhnī*, *Gujrī*, *Gurjavī* and *Bolī Gujrātī*. Every community in

India—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and others—has played its part in its development. And now it is not only spoken and written in Bharat and Pakistan but also in several countries of Asia, East and West.

The following four lectures delivered by my colleague and friend, Professor N. S. Gorekar, M.A., Head of the Departments of Urdu and Islamic Culture, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, are a successful and praiseworthy attempt to give an enlightening survey of the origin and development of Urdu. He covers all fields of literary expression in the language with remarkable study and interpretation. His style is delightful and presentation convincing.

Professor Gorekar is a young man, full of zeal and zest, and is devoted to the cause of Urdu. He has done much in this direction, and I am confident that he will do much more in future.

These lectures, I am sure, will be read with interest and profit.

BOMBAY, 21ST MAY, 1961 N. A. NADVI

Urdu is our heritage, common, sacred and indivisible

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

Origin and Growth of Urdu

QUṬB-UD-DĪN ĀIBAK, who was a native of Turkistan but a servant of Moḥammed Ghorī and afterwards his chief general, captured Delhi in 1193, and on the death of his master in 1206 became the first sulṭān of Delhi. From that time onward, the foreign troops were quartered in the city, and this perhaps gave rise to the popular belief that *Urdu* as a language was born in Delhi. As a matter of fact the Persian-speaking soldiers entered the Punjab in 1027 when Maḥmūd of Ghaznī annexed the Punjab and settled his army of occupation in Lahore, nearly a hundred and fifty years before the first sulṭān, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Āibak, sat on the throne of Delhi. The military and the administrative staff who lived in the Punjab, within a few years of their stay, spoke the language of the country, modified of course, by their own mother tongue, Persian. The soldiers and people of India, thrown together in their daily intercourse, needed a common language to meet the requirements of a vast majority of people. This language could be either the modified form of Persian

or Old Punjabi, and consequently, a single common language was probably established. For a certain period the soldiers used Persian as a medium of communication among themselves and the corrupted form of the local vernacular with the natives. Ultimately, however, Persian as a medium of expression died out, though it continued to be the language of the court in Lahore and later in Delhi. Persian of course, continued to be the language of the court until 1835 when Urdu replaced it in that capacity and rose to be the *lingua franca* of India.

What happened in Lahore and Delhi resembles in many ways the linguistic change in England after the Norman conquest. The Normans who spoke a dialect of French, entered an Anglo-Saxon-speaking country and made French the court language. Though they greatly influenced the speech of the conquered country yet within three centuries they lost their own language and there arose a language, termed English, but with a generous admixture of French words. The changes introduced in English by the coming of the Normans were greater than those produced in the current speech of the Punjab or *Khaṛī Bolī* (a dialect spoken in Delhi and its suburbs) by the Muslim army. Apart from the incorporation of many loan words, the impact was very small. The language remained unchanged in its grammatical structure but its vocabulary was greatly enlarged.

Obviously, therefore, Urdu began in Lahore and not in Delhi, and its underlying language was the current speech of the Punjab and not *Kharī Bolī*. Later on this form of speech was somewhat altered by *Kharī Bolī*. The formation of this language began with the occupation of Lahore by the Ghaznavid forces in 1027, and about a hundred and fifty years later the Ghorid forces entered Delhi, and in a short while the early embryo of *Urdu* became probably the common language of conversation. The *Lahore-Urdu* consisting of Old Punjabi was overlaid by Persian from 1027, while from 1193 it was modified by *Kharī Bolī* and further influenced by Persian, becoming the *Delhi-Urdu*.

In 1327 Moḥammed Tughlaq invaded the Deccan and founded Dāulatābād as his capital and twenty one years later 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Bahmanī rebelled against Moḥammed Tughlaq and became the first monarch of the Bahmanī dynasty. The Muslim troops who accompanied them spoke a dialect of Urdu. This language grew up amongst the Marathi, Telugu or Kanarese-speaking population of the Deccan. It was not Persian but *Dakhnī-Urdu* which in course of time, that is, round about 1375, was not very much different from *Delhi-Urdu*.

Again the desire to spread the doctrine of Islam necessitated the use of the vernacular to reach the people. Hence a large number of religious terms

were introduced into the language by the saints and ṣufīs who have always played an important part in the life of the Deccan. They began to write tracts and even larger works in *Dakhnī-Urdu.* The earliest writings in Urdu were mainly religious and some of them had been written nearly two hundred and fifty years before there were any regular works in Urdu composed in North India. The linguistic importance of the religious period in the development of Urdu is very great as the language in its earliest form, had no literary finish. It was written both in poetry and prose, with a view to imparting spiritual instruction.

The religious period which lasted from 1350 to 1590 before which no regular composition appeared in Delhi, was significant from the linguistic point of view. Besides Niẓāmī, Ashraf and Firūz, most of the writers were well-known teachers of religion like Khwajāh Bandāh Nawāz, Shāh Mīrānjī, Shāikh Burhān-ud-Dīn Jānam, Shāh 'Alī Jīyo Gāmdānī and Shāikh Khūb Moḥammed.

Shāh Mīrānjī wrote two poems on sufistic doctrines in Urdu under the titles of *Khush Nāmāh* and *Khush Naghz. Shahādat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* is another of his poems that explains why he preached and wrote in Urdu. Shāikh Burhān-ud-Dīn Jānam has produced considerable work in Urdu both in verse and prose. *Ḥujjat-ul-Baqā* and *Irshād Nāmāh* are

both long poems in indigenous metres with plenty of indigenous words and expressions. Shāh Amīn-ud-Dīn 'Alā who was a religious teacher, wrote *Muḥib Nāmāh* or *Muḥabbat Nāmāh* on spiritual love and *Rumūz-us-Sālikīn* on the unity of God and other allied subjects. His writings have a religious rather than a literary value. He is said to have written short poetical romances, like *Jawāhir-ul-Asrār* and two poems, *Risālah-i-Qurbiāh* and *Risālah-i-Wujūdiāh*. Shāh 'Alī Jīyo Gāmdānī wrote a poem entitled *Jawāhir-ul-Asrār-ul-lāh* which tells of the poet's love for God in a simple and attractive style and which reveals a strong *Gujrī* influence. Shāikh Khūb Moḥammed has set forth the teachings of his spiritual guide, Shāikh Kamāl Moḥammed, in his book, *Khūb Tarang*, a poetic composition of great linguistic importance, showing *Gujrī* influence.

Persian in spite of the tentative spread of Urdu, had of course, still its sway. It was still the language of the court and of the administration and the only language in which it was considered proper to undertake any serious literature and even ordinary correspondence. But as a spoken tongue on any large scale its days were past and Urdu had usurped its place. However, among the orthodox there was a strong prejudice against such a course and to them Urdu was still a hybrid and rustic jargon unworthy of literary cultivation. This prejudice was the strongest in the metropolis, hence the response to this

new craving for Urdu literature could not have come from Delhi, the place of its birth, but from the Deccan under the local dialectical appellation of *Dakhnī* or *Gujrī*. It had found stronghold in the independent kingdoms of South India especially, in the times of the Quṭub Shāhī dynasty of Golcunda and the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur, and also the Aḥmed Shāhī dynasty of Gujarat. But when the inclination was felt to attempt literary compositions in the new language, they naturally adopted the Persian script with modifications, suited to *Indian* sounds, and followed the Persian literary ideals along with *Indian* norms.

Moḥammed Qulī Quṭub Shāh led the way in learning and poetry. He is possibly and even probably the first literary writer in Urdu, and his writings which are purely literary and deal with a variety of subjects, reveal his breadth of mind and width of interest. He was the first to compose *ghazal* (lyric), *qaṣidāh* (panegyric), *mathnavī* (narrative poem) and *marthiāh* (elegy). In addition to the usual subjects beloved of Persian poets, he dealt with matters of everyday life, describing *Indian* feasts and festivals, the celebrations of marriages and birthdays, the prevalent customs and usages and the varieties of fruits, vegetables, flowers and birds, and showed his talent in the description of nature, giving a sympathetic account of Indian life.

Similarly, Wajahī wrote a poetical romance named *Quṭub Mushtrī*, which is thoroughly *Indian* with a bright, varied and natural descriptions in good Urdu. Ghawwāṣī is the author of two poetical romances, *Qiṣṣah-i-Saif-ul-Mulūk-o-Badi-ul-Jamāl* and *Ṭūṭī Nāmāh.* Ibn Nishāṭī has written a poetical romance, *Phūl Ban*. It is of great value both from the literary and the historical standpoint. His language in *Phūl Ban* is simple and flows with easy rhythm. Nuṣratī wrote among other works, *'Alī Nāmāh*, giving a long account of the glorious deeds of his master 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He excelled in the power of imagination, clarity of thought, freshness of themes and also in the precise use of words.

Shah Moḥammed Walī-ul-lāh Walī of Gujarat was the most prominent poet of the time. In the later years of his career, Walī visited Delhi and paved the way for the rise of those successive generations of literary men who in an amazingly short period, succeeded in raising the speech of Delhi to the status of a first-rate literary language. He is a great name in Urdu literature and is called *Bābā-i-Rikhtāh*, the father of Urdu poetry. He was a dynamic personality with a mystical cast of mind. His writings present a vivid picture of the life of the time in simple and dignified language, sometimes rising to real eloquence.

Although *Bikaṯ Kahānī* by Afḍal, *Dard Nāmāh* by Meḥbūb 'Ālam and humurous poetic compositions by

Jā'far Zatalī (who died in 1713) were to be found, yet Urdu poetry in North India as an art, sprang up very shortly after 1722. The process of Persianization received a great impetus. Persian writers and poets became the sole models. Persian words, idioms, sentiments and imagery were introduced, together with Persian history, geography and legends. Poetry became more and more artificial and *un-Indian*. Persian gardens with Persian trees, fruits and flowers were transplanted into Urdu poetry in India while Persian scenery and customs, even Persian heroes and heroines found a new home here. Poetry continued to be simple and natural and poets wrote of what they had seen and felt. Metaphors and similes were natural and the figure of speech known as *Īhām* (pun) continued for a considerable time and ceased only towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century.

With Walī Urdu poetry as an art, makes a serious and definite start. His example and initiative are responsible for the growth and development of Urdu poetry in Delhi. His style is simple, natural, eloquent and shorn of all long-drawn-out metaphors and rhetorical far-fetched conceits, although his poetry is deeply imbued with sufism. The language of Walī shows the presence of indigenous words. The centre of poetry thus shifted from the Deccan to Delhi where Walī's *Dīwān* (a collection of poetic compositions arranged in alphabetical order of rhymes) aroused great

interest and found numerous imitators. They hailed with delight the new literature and Urdu poetry thrived and prospered alongside its formidable and fortunate rival, Persian. The example was emulated by Ḥātim, Ārzū, Maḍmūn and Ābrū and a number of other poets. Their writings are replete with sufistic doctrines and their style is plain and simple with few figures and tropes. The works of the older poets of Delhi are milestones in the progress of Urdu language and its poetry.

In the age of Mirzā Rafī' Sāudā and Mīr Taqī Mīr, the two great masters, Urdu poetry blossomed forth with a dazzling magnificence. They outshine their contemporaries in the beauty of style, mastery of technique, loftiness of thought and delicacy of sentiment. *Ghazal* and *qaṣīdāh* reached a very high level. The great literary figures of this epoch are Maẓhar, Dard, Soz, Qā'im, Yaqīn, Bayān, Hidāyat, Qudrat and Ḍiyā' who were Persian scholars and who naturally preferred Persian to indigenous words. They did not only refine the language but also imported pleasing phrases and attractive idioms from Persian. The art of versification showed a noticeable improvement and the language made great and rapid strides and acquired range, vigour and elasticity. By importing new forms and vast stores of words and imagery, they prepared the way for their successors.

The era of Athar, Jura't, Inshā', Mushafī, Rangīn and Firāq continued the process of eliminating indigenous words and filling their places with foreign words. The poetry on the whole mirrors the age and the socio-economic plight of the people of Delhi. The best literary productions of this age include two *mathnavīs*, *Sehr-ul-Bayān* of Mīr Hasan and *Khwāb-o-Khyāl* of Mīr Dard's brother, Mīr Athar, which undoubtedly, rank very high in Urdu literature. It may be added here that Dayā Shankar Nasīm's *Gulzār-i-Nasīm*, a fantastic and supernatural poetical romance, can be compared appropriately with *Sehr-ul-Bayān* of Mīr Hasan.

The epoch of Nasīr, Zāuq, Ghālib, Momin and Zafar is characterised by the fact that the language was further Persianized. As Mirzā Asad-ul-lāh Khān Ghālib and Hakīm Momin Khān Momin were great Persian scholars and wrote copiously in that language, they made further depredations on Persian idioms and constructions and imported them largely into their Urdu verses. Shāh Nasīr is the connecting link between the age of Inshā' and Mushafī and that of Zāuq and Ghālib. Shāikh Ibrāhīm Zāuq had a greater mastery over the language and his verses are well-polished. Bahādur Shāh Zafar in spite of his excellences, was not as talented as Ghālib or Zāuq. *Ghazals* and *qasīdāhs* of Ghālib and Zāuq respectively are standards for all time. In short, Urdu poetry during this age showed the originality of thought and also

witnessed an improvement in the language and a good deal of importation of Persian constructions.

Naẓīr Akbarābādī stands by himself and is one of the most attractive personalities in Urdu literature. He is unrivalled for his rich and varied music, for his great powers of minute observation and for his sincere pathos and deep humour. He is a truly *Indian* poet in vocabulary, subject-matter and style.

Poetry in Urdu received a great impetus at the courts of the Nawwābs of Lucknow. The forms of poetry were standardised and perfected. The resources of the language were fully exploited and indigenous words were ejected and words of foreign extraction were imported. The credit of giving the final touches to the language goes to Shāikh Nāsikh. While Mīr Ātish, the great master of *ghazal*, is linked to the old order of poets and his style is simple, chaste, elegant and full of pathos. The rivalries of Nāsikh and Ātish led in a way to the development of Urdu poetry.

It was in Lucknow that *marthiāh* was revived with great force and striking effect. The brightest stars are Mīr Anīs and Mirzā Dabīr whose voluminous compositions are full of fire and genuine poetry. The *marthiāhs* in fact, have redeemed the credit of

Urdu poetry. Moral in their tone, the *marthiāhs* have rendered a great service to the cause of Urdu literature.

After delving into the past and unearthing many remarkable Dakhnī prose works, scholars maintain that Urdu prose starts from the ealry fourteenth century and which comprises of saws, maxims and sayings of saints, mystics and eminent divines of the Deccan and Gujarat. The treatises which are occasionally translations or adaptations, are invariably religious in character. *Me'rāj-ul-'Āshiqīn*, a translation of *Nishāṭ-ul-'Ishq*, by Khwajāh Bandāh Nawāz affords interesting glimpses of the language of the period, although it is not literary in the accepted sense of the term. *Hidāyat Nāmāh* is another prose work of the same author. Shāh Mīrānjī wrote numerous small tracts in prose which deal with mystic problems, illustrated by parables and anecdotes. *Jal Tarang* and *Gul Bās* are his famous prose works. *Kalimat-ul-Ḥaqā'iq* of Shāikh Burhān-ud-Dīn Jānam is also an important prose piece. Thus it could be established that Urdu or Dakhnī prose was born as early as the fourteenth century.

Wajahī wrote in prose an important religious story called, *Sab Ras,* modelled, as regards style, on Ẓuhūrī's Persian prefaces to *Nāuras Nāmāh.* It is probably a translation of a Persian work by Shāh Wajīh-ud-Dīn Gujarati in a rhythmical, simple and flowing style.

Before the advent of prose from this distant nursery of the Deccan, there were a few books in prose but they were mostly romances or religious books translated either from Persian or from Sanskrit through Persian. The earliest specimen of Urdu prose in North India is *Karbal Kathā*, a translation by Faḍlī from *Rāuḍat-ush-Shuhadā'* of Mullā Ḥusāin Wā'iẓ Kāshifī, produced in 1732 during the reign of Moḥammed Shāh. Its only value is that it furnishes the earliest specimens of any note of Urdu prose now extant. Mirzā Sāudā's Urdu prose is reflected in the preface to his Urdu *Dīwān* which shows the trend of the age, the order of words in the sentences not conforming to canons of grammar but arranged to create harmony and rhyme. *Nāu Ṭarz-i-Muraṣṣā'* by Mīr Moḥammed Ḥusāin 'Aṭā' Khān Taḥsīn which is written in 1775 in the reign of Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dāulāh of Oudh is significant. The next in importance are *Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī* by Sāiyed Inshā', and Sāiyed Inshā' and Mirzā Qatīl's *Daryā-i-Laṭāfat*. Though written in Persian style, *Daryā-i-Laṭāfat* gives specimens of the language employed by various categories of people.

The year 1800 is of great significance in the history of Urdu prose when the Fort William College of Calcutta was founded by the East India Company for the instruction of its staff in Indian languages under the direction of the dynamic personality of Dr. John Gilchrist. He appointed a band of scholars, both

Hindu and Muslim, to translate from Persian and Sanskrit particularly, and also to produce original literary works. Urdu prose for practical purposes was ushered into existence in the College by outstanding writers like Shēr 'Alī Afsōs, Sāiyed Moḥammed Ḥāider Bakhsh Ḥāiderī, Mīr Amman Dehlavī, Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Ḥusāinī, Nihāl Chand Lāhorī, Ḥafīẓ-ud-Dīn Aḥmed and Mirzā 'Alī Luṭf.

Shēr 'Alī Afsōs wrote *Bāgh-i-Urdu*, a translation of Shāikh Sā'dī's *Gulistān*, and *Ārā'ish-i-Maḥfil*, a short history of the Hindu kings of Delhi from Judhishter to Rā'i Pithora. He also revised *Mazhab-i-'Ishq* known as *Gul-i-Bakāulī*, a translation undertaken by Nihāl Chand Lāhorī from the original in Persian by 'Izzat-ul-lāh Bangālī. Sāiyed Moḥammed Ḥāider Bakhsh Ḥāiderī wrote *Ṭūṭi Nāmāh*. He also translated *Qiṣṣah-i-Ḥāṭim Ṭā'ī* and *Gulzār-i-Dānish*, and compiled a short biographical account of the early martyrs under the title of *Gul-i-Maghfirat*. Mīr Amman Dehlavī rendered into Urdu prose *Chahār Durvesh* under the name of *Bāgh-o-Bahār*. It is considered the most important prose work executed under the direction of Dr. John Gilchrist. He also translated *Akhlāq-i-Moḥsinī* of Kāshifī and named it *Ganj-i-Khūbī*. Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Ḥusāinī rendered into Urdu prose *Seḥr-ul-Bayāṇ* of Mīr Ḥasan and called it *Nathr-i-Bēnazīr*. His other works include *Akhlāq-i-Hindī*, based on an earlier Persian work, *Mufarriḥ-ul-Qulūb*, of Muftī Tāj-ud-Dīn which

is again a version of a Sanskrit work named *Hitopadeṣa*, and *Tārīkh-i-Āsām* was compiled from a Persian work of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Tālish. Ḥafīẓ-ud-Dīn Aḥmed translated *'Iyār-i-Dānish* of Shāikh Abūl Faḍl, giving it the name of *Khirad Afrūz*. Mirzā 'Alī Luṭf produced *Gulshan-i-Hind*, a collection of short biographical sketches of Urdu poets from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century, based on *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, written in Persian by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān.

Truly speaking, the works of these authors assume considerable bulk and their permanent value lies in that they lay the foundation of Urdu prose and give an impetus to subsequent attempts in that field of literature. Alongside with the publications at the College, Rajab 'Alī Bēg Surūr's *Fasānah-i-'Ajā'ib* which is conventional in theme and in style, and *Būstān-i-Hikmat*, a prose translation of Kāshifī's *Anwār-i-Suhāilī* by Faqīr Moḥammed Goyā, were written after the manner of stock tales in Persian.

The revolt of Mirzā Ghālib from the conventional writing was very daring, and the most important, interesting and fascinating of his writings in Urdu are his letters, collected under the pseudonyms of *Urdu-i-Mu'allā* and *'Ūd-i-Hindi*. The letters are couched in his characteristic inimitable style, and form the most entertaining reading, denuded of all conventionality, formality and stiffness.

With the advent of the nineteenth century a large number of books were translated or adapted from Persian into Urdu. With the establishment of the Delhi College in 1825, a remarkable outburst of brilliant intellectual expression brought in the renaissance of Urdu at Delhi which gave a sudden illumination to the age. The Delhi College produced many eminent scholars who were the finest products of the Urdu renaissance and who had a far-reaching and important influence on the destiny of Urdu. The Urdu scholars were as a matter of fact, fascinated by the scientific experiments in literature at the College and in the anticipation of new knowledge they experienced the thrill of the pioneers of a new age.

Further, the *press* was granted freedom in 1836 and Bāqar Ḥusāin, father of Professor Moḥammed Ḥusāin Āzād, started in 1838 a journal, *Urdu Akhbār*, from Delhi which was not only a purveyor of news but was literary in character. It may be noted here that in 1822 an Urdu section was started in a journal known as *Jām-i-Jahāṇ Numā* from Calcutta. Munshī Harsukh Rā'i brought out in 1850 another journal, *Kōh-i-Nūr*, from Lahore. It began as a weekly and became a bi-weekly and later a tri-weekly.

Urdu as a language is the practical outcome of the Hindu-Muslim entente which has been established by the fact that a genuine spirit of unity, cordiality and

self-sacrifice induced both Hindus and Muslims to forgo their respective languages and to adopt as their own a language essentially *Indian* in origin but fully nourished and developed on foreign resources.

Urdu literature in its early stage was wholly or almost wholly in verse. This literature was thus entirely poetical in purpose and was essentially subjective in character without the objective note. In spite of its shortcomings, it fulfilled one good purpose. In a short period it succeeded in forming the language through which it could express itself. It is the efforts of the decadent age of artificial poetry that perfected Urdu as a vehicle of literary expression. The early poets may thus be regarded as those who came to prepare the language for the easy assimilation of the influences and ideals which began to flow into it, making it a language of culture and refinement, and also capable of expressing delicate nuances of thought and feeling.

Post-Revolution Era

THE National Revolution of 1857 is an event of great historical significance. The Mughal Empire which had tried to foster cultural values during its rule in India for about three centuries, crumbled to dust, and British Imperialism set in with all the resources of the Industrial Revolution and the new knowledge and sciences at its command and firmly established itself in India. The old and indigenous order yielded place to a new and foreign order of progressive and remarkable characteristics. It brought us closer to western learning and sciences which influenced our social life and general outlook.

The revolution led to a sharp conflict between the British and Indian interests in the economic and political field. This was not an isolated event nor an accident of history, rather it was the result of accumulated discontent amongst the people of India who suffered politically and culturally from the British domination. It was not a mere military revolt but in the words of Dr. Duff, 'a rebellion-revolution.'

It was a 'dress-rehearsal for the future struggle for freedom,' and created a tradition for a united front against foreign domination. The social forces of the old society 'were vanquished in their final attempt at rehabilitating their power in 1857' and the new social forces emerged only after 1870.

The period between 1870 and 1885 when the Indian National Congress was founded, was marked by discontent among the agrarian population, the crippling of handicrafts and cottage industries, the many disastrous famines, the Deccan peasant uprising and the steady growth of nationalist press literature. The educated middle class intellectuals, fired by the War of American Independence, the Struggle for Italian Liberation, the Works of Paine, Spencer, Mill and Voltaire and the Lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini, became politically articulate and conscious of nationalism and of patriotism.

Urdu literature which responded to all these stages of historical rather national development, embodied in itself the psychological observations, emotional experiences and the moral whisperings of the people. With the extinction of the kingdoms of Oudh in 1856 and of Delhi in 1857 and the subsequent consolidation of British power in India, the change in the order compelled the discontinuance of the stultifying court traditions then prevalent in the country. The need was felt to mirror the life of the people

faithfully. And as a result of the British impact through western education, the printing press and modern means of transport and communications, a new and vigorous school of thought in Urdu emerged along with the old as it could not escape the influence of such vital importance. The British impact, however, in the fulness of things, gave us three necessary impulses. It revived, in the words of Sri Aurobindo, our dormant intellectual and critical insight ; it rehabilitated life and awakened the desire for new creation ; it put the reviving *Indian* spirit face to face with novel conditions and ideals and the urgent necessity of understanding, assimilating and conquering them.

The change in the trends of literature in Urdu was not too startling or rapid : rather it was a slow process suited to the genius of India. The pioneers of Urdu renaissance who combined in themselves what was best and finest in the literatures, indigenous and foreign, and on whom rested the hopes of the future, were animated by a spirit of reform and not of revolt. They did not break away from the past completely, rather they interpreted the classical writers and their works in the new light, for they maintained a deep respect for old literature and old writers. Khwajāh Alṭāf Ḥusāin Ḥālī's *Yādgār-i-Ghālib* and Professor Moḥammed Ḥusāin Āzād's *Dīwān-i-Zāuq* can be cited as typical examples in point. They only wanted to

widen the scope of Urdu literature and to get rid of its artificiality, insincerity and conventionality. In other words, the main object of the promoters of the new school was to give warmth and feeling to Urdu literature and to make it more true to life by breaking away from the shackles of exaggeration, and by condemning the monotony and the bombast together with its insincerity and pompous imagery. They are, in reality, the makers of modern Urdu who take their new material from the soil, weaving it into new and beautiful fabrics. They prepare their own ambrosia to feed their own minds and the minds of the nation to which they belong. They love and understand the past, make an evaluation of the present and gird up their loins to face the future.

Although the seeds of modern Urdu poetry were sown by the *kalām* (poetic compositions) of Qulī Quṭub Shāh, the *shahr-i-āshobs* (poems dealing with disturbed times) of Mirzā Sāudā, the *mathnavīs* (narrative poems) of Mīr Ḥasan, the *marthiāhs* (elegies) of Mir Anīs, the *naẓms* (poems) of Naẓīr Akbarābādī and the *ghazals* (lyrics) of Mirzā Ghālib, the new school of thought needed the vital stimulus and liberating force of western thought and education to give a fresh departure to Urdu poetry. During the post revolution preiod the old artificial Urdu poetry, including the traditional *ghazal*, was on the decline but its scope was broadened to include social and

political themes. The poets were inspired by nature and patriotism, and combined thought with sentiment in the plainest possible language. Briefly, all the categories of philosophy which form part of the emotional pattern of our social and political life were skilfully woven into the texture of Urdu poetry, and with the poetic medley of great variety and tonal complexity and progressive social thinking, Urdu poetry, particularly the *ghazal*, became more meaningful, dissecting emotion and analysing sentiment in all its sublety and delicacy. The poets became conscious of the need of a sensitive and human reaction to life and compelled by the new urge discarded conventional diction and adopted new forms and techniques which give them a large measure of freedom. The reformist spirit of Professor Āzād, the critical insight of Khwajāh Ḥālī, the perspicuous presentation of Ismā'il Mīrathī, the patriotic fervour of Surūr Jahāṇābādī and the satirical touch of Akbar Allahābādī precipitated the progress of the new school of poetry in Urdu. But it must be admitted that the *nazms* of Qulī Quṭub Shāh and Naẓīr Akbarābādī and the *marthiāhs* of Mīr Anīs and Mirzā Dabīr largely saw only the glimmerings of the new dawn which was gradually breaking upon Urdu poetry. The realistic pictures from nature, the descriptions of incidents, the portrayal of human emotions, the didactic tone of the compositions, the sincerity and intensity of passions, the purity and freshness of diction and imagery, all present in a greater or lesser

degree in the *marthiāhs* on the one hand, and simplicity, purity, sincerity and strict adherence to nature, the key-notes of the *nazms*, on the other, heralded the new movement in a more vivid and dignified manner.

Urdu poetry greatly needed a sponsor of greater influence and the ascendency of the English language, in particular, supplied a much needed stimulus and tonic as Urdu poetry earlier looked up merely to the form rather than to the spirit. The impact of English served as an incentive to the growth of nationalism and made us conscious of our proud heritage, of our languages, of our cultures and of our history. Again translations and adaptations from English prose, poetry and drama not only evoked admiration for the magnificent literary tradition of England but also helped our pioneers to strike out a new path and enrich Urdu literature. In other words, the literary revolt was accompanied by a desire to lay the foundation of a new literature in Urdu by directing it along wholly untried channels informed by the spirit and models of English literature.

The year 1874 marks a new epoch in the history of Urdu poetry. Khwajāh Ḥālī was the earliest promoter of this new movement and he keenly participated in the *mushā'irāhs* (poetical contests) which abhorred the restrictions after the manner of old *miṣrā'-i-ṭrah* (model hemistich) of the *mushā'irāh*; and

mushā'irāh encouraged freedom of the poets to compose poems on any subject in their own way. It was Khwajāh Hālī who first introduced unconventional diction and the idea of homogeneity in a poem. Professor Āzād who was the founder of the school of Urdu poetry which took the age by storm. He shared with Khwajāh Hālī the glory of ushering in the new order of things which had such a tremendous and momentous influence on the development of Urdu literature. Khwajāh Hālī was the first to sing of the land and bewail her national decadence in his poem, *Hubb-i-Watan*. His poetry was no longer divorced from life. On the contrary, it reflected its variegated hues and established certain standards for subsequent poets in Urdu. Ismā'il Mīrathī wrote with success in blank verse and his experiments with other forms in Urdu poetry bear witness to his skill and talents. He improved the *ghazal* by giving prominence to sufistic and ethical themes in elegant language. He is significant for the admirable blending of the old and new styles. Surūr Jahānābādī, a votary of the shrine of Muses, is the master of the tragic. His poetry gives us a portrayal of the gloomy and the pathetic, and like the life of Mīr Taqī, his life was a real paean of sorrow. He is an eminently patriotic poet and his poems particularly, *Khāk-i-Watan*, *Māder-i-Hind* and *Yād-i-Watan* are remarkable rousing poems. Akbar Allahābādī, a gigantic social satirist, was an acknowledged Urdu poet who combined in himself the functions of a moralist, reformer, teacher

and philosopher. Besides poems on fresh themes, there are some original poems of all types and varied interests—reflective, descriptive, didactic, historical, political and patriotic, sublime and pathetic. The poems of Bēnaẕīr S͟hāh, Surūr Jahāṇābādī, Waḥīd-ud-Dīn Salīm, S͟hāuq Qidwā'ī and Nādir 'Alī S͟hāh clearly reflect the trends in poetry before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

The literary revolution, apart from the transformation of the *g͟hazal*, revived the *musaddas* (sextet), *mat͟hnavī* (narrative poem), *qiṭ'āh* (fragment) and *rubā'ī* (quatrain) and gave them a different orientation.

Musaddas as it moves with a swing, admirably suited for vigour and variety, affords a scope for continuity of description with effect and melody for the expression of elegiac or reflective mood. *Madd-o-Jazr-i-Islām* of K͟hwajāh Ḥālī is the longest poem ever attempted in the form of *musaddas* in the Urdu language. The greatness of the theme of the poem and the beauty of its diction has popularised the form to such an extent that the work is generally known by its stanzaic-form as *Musaddas-i-Ḥālī*. *Mat͟hnavī* is another verse-form which was employed in order to facilitate freedom of thought and expression in the poetic utterance in a simple, clear and straightforward style with a unified effect. *Bēwāh kī Munājāt* and *Hubb-i-Waṭan* of K͟hwajāḥ Ḥālī, *S͟hām kī Āmad āur Rāt kī Kāifīat* of Professor Āzād and *Ṣubḥ-i-Ummīd*

of Shiblī No'amānī are typical *mathnavīs* of the new school of Urdu poetry. *Rubā'ī* which is complete in itself with regard to the sense of right perspective, wide experience and brevity of expression, found favour with the pioneers of the new movement in order to give expression to some deep conviction or observation on any aspect of human life. Khwajāh Ḥālī and Akbar Allahābādī have been able to compose some of the finest *rubā'īs* in the language. *Qiṭ'āh* is another variety of poetry which calls for restraint and sobriety of expression and which was mostly employed by Khwajāh Ḥālī and Shiblī No'amānī. In fact, *qiṭ'āh* has been the most favourite form with Shiblī No'amānī and his fragments entitled *'Ahd-i-Fārūqī kē 'Adl kā ēk Namūnāh* and *Jura't-i-Ṣadāqat* are some of the best specimens of his talent which the Urdu language possesses in this form of poetry. Mention may be made of Mirzā Dāgh and Amīr Mīnā'ī along with Taslīm and Jalāl who were the ornaments of the court of Rampur after the upheaval had led to the breaking of the court in Lucknow. Amīr was a scholar with learned vocabulary while Dāgh was the natural poet with a great flow of simple idiomatic language. Amīr's scholarship is attested by his dictionary, *Amīr-ul-Lughāt* while Dāgh is acknowledged as one of the most remarkable *ghazal-writers* in Urdu.

To be brief, the primary concern of the leading Urdu poets was to break away from the heavy shackles of artificiality, conventionality and insincerity and to

introduce elements of simplicity, clearness and naturalness into poetic utterance. Some of the poems produced in Urdu, for their simplicity and naturalness of diction and style, depth and flow of thought and feeling, are the best poetic achievement of the post revolution era.

It was during the post-revolution era that English literature and western thought influenced the development of Urdu literature, especially prose. The impracticable, flowery and purposeless style gave place to a clear, precise and well-balanced sentence. It was the creative energy of Sir Sāiyed Aḥmed Khān that pioneered a simple, strong and living language, admirably suited for all literary and scientific purposes. It was his initiative that introduced sincerity into Urdu literature and his writings necessarily generated a spirit of freedom, a craving for inquiry, a yearning for truth and a desire for progress. The substance of literature was not only transmuted but its form and technique also underwent a profound change. It was through the large influence of Sir Sāiyed's Urdu journal, *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq*, that the qualities of genuineness, earnestness and straightforwardness crept into Urdu literature. The dynamic personality of Sir Sāiyed created interest for modern ideas and served as a powerful incentive to the writers of modern Urdu who attempted to write on history, biography, fiction, criticism and other species of literature, adopting western methods of approach to their problems. In

short, the moving spirit of Sir Sāiyed gave a truly literary colour to Urdu which was absolutely lacking in the literary products of the period, preceding the National Upheaval of 1857.

There is a bewildering variety of compositions in Urdu under the name of *maḍmūn* or *inshā'iāh* (essay). There were innumerable essays primarily by Master Rām Chandra, Moḥammed Ẕakā-ul-lāh, Sir Sāiyed, K͟hwajāh Ḥālī, Moḥsin-ul-Mulk, Māulānā Chirāg͟h 'Alī and others during the golden age of Urdu literature, contributed to the Urdu journal, *Tehẕīb-ul-Ak͟hlāq*, started avowedly in imitation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. The speeches and lectures of literary personalities like Sir Sāiyed and Ḥāfiẓ Nazir Aḥmed, the ambitious dissertations on religious or philosophical, literary or historical subjects by men of such calibre as Sir Sāiyed, K͟hwajāh Ḥālī and Professor Āzād, and the literary reviews by distinguished writers of the age which appeared in leading periodicals and journals like *Mak͟hzan* from Lahore and *Dilgudāz* from Lucknow are essentially of the nature of the essay. Professor Āzād's *Nāirang-i-K͟hyāl*, K͟hwajāh Ḥālī's *Maqālāt-i-Ḥālī* and *S͟hiblī No'amānī's Maqālāt-i-S͟hiblī* also serve as illustrations.

At the end of the eighteenth century there were numerous accounts of historical personages, particularly of saints in Urdu, entitled *ḥayāt*, *swāniḥ-i-'umrī*, *sīrat*, *tazkirāh*, *ḥālāt* or *yādgār* (biography). But bio-

graphical literature in Urdu, most of which is meagre and fragmentary, does not throw light on the influences which had been responsible to shape the thought and expression of the biographers. It is mainly a chronicle of the leading events in the lives of the personalities and this seldom reveals the working of their inner mind.

During the post-revolution era biography and history were deeply influenced by the western conceptions and methods. The biographers and historians such as Khwajāh Ḥālī, Shiblī No'amānī and Moḥammed Zakā-ul-lāh, though not too conversant with English, were acquainted with the developments in the technique of biography and history. Although the first biography in Urdu was to be found yet the most representative one on modern lines was introduced in 1882 with the publication of *Ḥayāt-i-Sā'dī*, the life sketch of Shāikh Sā'dī and his works. It gives us different facets of the life of Sā'dī, the great Persian poet, followed by a detailed account of the works with a critical review of his life and poetry as a whole. *Yādgār-i-Ghālib* and *Ḥayāt-i-Jāwēd* were also written by Khwajāh Ḥālī. The former deals with the life and works of his guide-teacher, Mirzā Ghālib, at whose feet he began to lisp in numbers. The latter is of Sir Sāiyed, the guide, friend and inspirer of his later years. These biographies together with some of those written by his contemporary, Shiblī No'amānī, form some of the most remarkable biographies in

Urdu literature. *al-Ghazālī*, the life-sketch and philosophy of Ghazālī, the great thinker of Islam, *al-Māmūn*, the life and activities of Caliph Māmūn of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, *Sīrat-un-No'amān*, the biographical sketch and the decisive nature of Imām Abū Ḥanīfāh and *Swāniḥ-i-'Umri-i-Māulānā-i-Rūm*, the life and poetry, particularly the *mathnavī*, of Māulana Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, a gigantic mystic poet, are some of the important biographies from the pen of Shiblī No'amānī.

In the field of history two names stand out prominently—Moḥammed Zakā-ul-lāh, the author of a monumental work in six volumes on the history of India under the name of *Tārīkh-i-Hindustān* and Shiblī No'amānī who has a name in Urdu literature because of his scientific approach to this subject and his argumentative bent. The first historical contribution of Shiblī No'amānī dealing with the heroes of Islam was followed by biographical-cum-historical works such as *Sīrat-un-No'amān*, *al-Ghazālī*, *al-Māmūn* which are more biographical than historical, and *She'r-ul-'Ajam*, the comprehensive literary and critical history of Persian poetry, *al-Fārūq*, the historical and administrative aspect of the career of 'Umar Fārūq, the second Orthodox Caliph, and *Sīrat-un-Nabī*, the varied aspects of the life of the Prophet Moḥammed and the gradual progress of Islam. This work was completed by Sāiyed Sulāimān Nadvī.

Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq introduced certain literary and social criticism into modern Urdu literature because Sir Sāiyed and other pioneers of Urdu renaissance were interested in the work of national awakening and social reform. As the cultivation of literary taste was deemed a part of national duty and social reconstruction, criticism of Persian poetry was taken up along with the movement for reform in Urdu poetry. Hence certain methods of approach were suggested and lines of reform were recommended by Khwajāh Ḥālī, Shiblī No'amānī and other men of letters. *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq*, the Urdu journal, relentlessly exposed all that was artificial and insincere in the old literature in Urdu. It introduced certain principles which encourage and sustain all true literature. In the words of Khwajāh Ḥālī, it has 'revolutionised their conception of literature.' The services of *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq* in the field of literary criticism are of considerable importance. Its work has been supplemented by *muqaddamāh* (prologomena) by Khwajāh Ḥālī as a masterly preface to his *Dīwān*, a collectoin of his poetic compositions, which later on came to be known as *Muqaddamah-i-She'r-o-Shā'rī*. It deals with the art of poetry as understood in the east and the west and sums up the essentials which have been recognized by all as forming the life and substance of all good poetry. The monumental historical and critical survey of Persian poetry under the title of *She'r-ul-'Ajam* by Shiblī No'amānī, the prologomenas of Khwajāh Ḥālī and other writers

of the front rank to their works and the reviews and articles of critical nature in the standard journals or periodicals like *Dilgudāz*, *Makhzan* and *an-Nadwāh* published from time to time, have carried on the work of the *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq* and in some measure succeeded in educating the public taste for literary appreciation. *Mawāzanah-i-Anīs-o-Dabīr* of Shiblī No'amānī is another work, giving critical appreciation of the *marthiāhs* of Mīr Anīs compared and contrasted with those of Mirzā Dabīr, the contemporary *marthiāh-writer* in Urdu. The style of literary criticism wholly laudatory and delightfully vague, is but a recrudescence of the old spirit and it did not respond to the true requirements of their art. But with the spread of education, literary criticism assumed a true perspective and the standard set by Khwajāh Ḥālī in accordance with the best traditions of the west prevailed and furthered the cause of true literature in Urdu.

Although Ḥāfiz Nazīr Aḥmad is the first novelist of Urdu but the systematic attempt in Urdu at anything approaching our conception of the modern novel with dialogue playing a large part, was *Fasānah-i-Āzād* of Paṇdit Ratan Nāth Sarshār which appeared as a series in *Awadh Akhbār*. It is a work of extraordinary length, written in ornate prose. In simplicity of diction and charm of style and in the portrayal of the social life of the time, it is indeed, an undoubted advance over earlier works of fiction.

But it must be noted that Urdu novel lacks the essential qualities of the novel both in unity of plot and consistency of characterisation. Not only have a good many tales and stories from English such as Grim's *Fairy Tales*, Aesop's *Fables*, Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, Johnson's *Rasellas*, Verne's *From the Earth to the Moon*, Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* and Corelli's *Vendetta* but innumrable original works based on the English novel were drawn upon. A large majority of the Urdu novels were novelettes which have vague setting, social or historical, for their themes. Of the rest which possess any literary value are the social novels, namely, *Mira't-ul-'Arūs, Banā't-un-Nā'sh, Ibn-ul-Waqt, Moḥṣināt, Tāubat-un-Nusūḥ, Rūyā-i-Ṣādiqāh* of Ḥāfiẓ Naẕīr Aḥmed and historical novels like *Malik-ul-'Azīz Virginia, Manṣūr Mohanā, Āiyām-i-'Arab, Flora Florinda, Firdāus-i-Barīṇ* and *Zawāl-i-Baghdād* of Moḥammed 'Abd-ul-Ḥalīm Sharar. Ḥāfiẓ Naẕir Aḥmed's novels are novels with a purpose, intended specially for women, and calculated to bring home to them the social evils to which they are subject. Moḥammed 'Abd-ul-Ḥalīm Sharar's novel on the other hand, are conceived in a different spirit—the spirit common to the English novelists. Like Scott, Sharar went back to the romantic past of his own people, and endeavoured to vitalise it for the sake of his own generation. It may be noted that in the development of Urdu novel, Sharar enjoys a leading

position and by his wider appeal popularised the idea of the novel amongst the Urdu-reading people of India.

The drama like the novel has been an entirely new acquisition to Urdu literature. It was only when the last vestiges of Mughal power and glory were fast vanishing from India that the poet Amānat 'Alī Amānat wrote in rhymed verse a remarkable *opera* in Urdu named *Indar Sabhā*, a drama of love between Gulfām and Sabzparī. The next attempt at dramatic writing in Urdu was made under the auspices of several Parsi theatrical companies equipped on modern lines which were established in Bombay in particular, about the close of the nineteenth century. *Āb-i-Iblīs*, *Anjām-i-Ulfat*, *'Āshiq-i-Ṣādiq*, *Lāilā Majnūṇ* and the like are some of the well-known plays in Urdu which are in two to five acts, divided into scenes of varying length.

There was also a tendency to have the translations or adaptations from English and as such of the Shakespearian plays, the adaptations in Urdu of *Romeo and Juliet* as *Bazm-i-Fānī*, *Hamlet* as *Khūn-i-Nāḥaq*, *Othello* as *Jā'far*, *The Merchant of Venice* as *Chānd Shāh Sāudāgar*, *The Comedy of Errors* as *Bhūl Bhulāiyāṇ*, *As You Like It* as *Dilpazīr*, *A Midsumemr Night's Dream* as *Jām-i-Ulfat*, *Love's Labour's Lost* as *Yāroṇ kī Meḥnat Barbād*, *The Winter's Tale* as *Murīd-i-Shak*, *The Tempest* as *Tīr-i-Nigāh* and *King Lear* of the same

name form an important part of dramatic literature in Urdu. It may be added here that the enterprising Parsi community in India launched theatrical companies in imitation of the English theatres to cater for the amusement of the public. The language of the drama was simple Urdu, and poetry was used invariably to lend vigour and charm. Although the main aim of the dramatic companies was commercial, it did make a distinct advance in the Urdu stage. Āghā Ḥashar Kashmīrī, the Marlowe of the Urdu stage, is a notable figure and his works are creditable performances in Urdu dramatic literature.

Of the outstanding and standard Urdu journals of the post-revolution era *Institute Gazette* and *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq* from 'Alīgarh, *an-Nadwāh* from Nadwāh, *Awadh Punch* and *Dilgudāz* from Lucknow and *Makhzan* from Lahore stand out pre-eminent. *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq* was modelled expressly on the *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. It was greatly instrumental in bringing about social and religious freedom, particularly freedom from religious conventions. It proved an effective incentive for the encouragement of the spirit of inquiry and research and did much to cultivate a taste for literary criticism. *an-Nadwāh* aimed at the literary, educational and political rebirth of the nation. *Awadh Punch* produced satiric and humorous literature in Urdu. *Dil-*

gudāz helped to develop romantic literature in prose and *Institute Gazette* was educational and critical while *Makhzan* added to the *belles-lettres* in Urdu.

The letters of cultured men in any aspect of life provide useful material for a good biography and often give us clues to writer's individuality which otherwise would remain unknown. Epistolary literature in Urdu on account of its spontaneity and naturalness as a branch of literature claimed the status of an independent art. *Khuṭūṭ-i-Wiqār-ul-Mulk*, *Khuṭūṭ-i-Sir Sāiyed*, *Makātīb-i-Shiblī* and *Maktūbāt-i-Ḥālī* have contributed largely to the growth of epistolary literature.

As a result of these influences, Urdu literature took on an altogether new turn. Besides the development in the art and technique of Urdu poetry, a new, vigorous and expansive prose grew rapidly and invaded every branch of literature, bearing on it the impress of western literature and education which inspired its development and formation. It was just the beginning of a *renaissance* in Urdu rather than a period of transition. With the passage of time, the spread of education, the refinement of taste and the growth of healthy national life of which literature is the inevitable expression, Urdu became more forceful, more critical and more varied.

Post-War Times

THE First World War and the Russian Revolution abroad, the Home-Rule Movement and the Jalianwālā Bāgh Episode at home, touched to the very core the emotional life of India and enriched, both in volume and content, the stream of national discontent. The onrush of the socialistic idealogies and ideas into India round about the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century and the appeal of Russian realism to the younger generation in India resulted in the spirit of revolt which was heightened in the course of time. Naturally, therefore, Urdu literature also could not escape its influence in view of the ever-widening and all-embracing range of human society in the twentieth century. The new social and economic environment, the incongruities and inequalities of opportunity became the main concern of Urdu literature in all its branches. It concerned itself with the social, political and moral uprising brought about by the events abroad in particular and the agitation at home in general, and

as a result, it derived its inspiration from an assessment of fresh values and new norms.

Urdu poetry before the outbreak of war in 1914 appeared to be a slow-moving river which had brought down the fertile soil in the delta. Due to the liberal movements of the late nineteenth century, the current of life moved very gently and undisturbedly. In other words, the compelling themes in Urdu poetry right upto the First World War were nature, patriotism and love, divine and human. After that the Urdu poets, particularly the younger poets, became more and more influenced by the socialistic and Marxian doctrine and idealogy and by the theory and technique of European symbolism. With the result that the Urdu poets in their works dwelt upon capitalist exploitation, class conflict and the need for a quick change in the pattern of society. Complicated problems of sex, arising out of a new social order and the intricacies of sub-conscious mind also appear in this new Urdu poetry in terms of strange diction and unfamiliar language. Not only the content but also the form of poetry suffered a change. The older poetic form and technique made room for free-verse. New imagery was used and the old imagery, if used, was given a new interpretation. Most of the younger poets looked on literature as a vehicle for political and social or economic discussion and for propaganda in an anarchic and irregular form, and consequently, their composi-

tions could hardly rise above journalism. And the older poets almost ceased to write while the younger poets were still in the experimental stage.

Paṇdit Biraj Nārāiṇ Chakbast, an Urdu poet and critic, has employed *musaddas* and *mathnavī* for his *nazms* with the blending of thought and emotion. He is noted for his catholic ideals with a chaster and more truly Hindustānī diction. Dr. Moḥammed Iqbāl was a sage and humanist and had given much thought to all the social, political and economic problems facing the East and as such his poem, *Khiḍer-i-Rāh*, written during the stormy days of the war, is an event in modern Urdu poetry and a beacon to the contemporary and coming Urdu poets. Ḥasrat Mohānī who is one of the greatest *ghazal-writers* in Urdu poetry revitalized the *ghazal* and most cleverly mixed the two styles of Delhi and Lucknow. He was an extremist and revolutionary in every walk of life except in the domain of art. He utilized all the symbols and themes of the traditional *ghazal* and gave to it a new tone and atmosphere. He bridged the past and the present, and finally combined in his *ghazal* the vitality of the past, the awareness of the present and the possibilities of the future. Being in line with Muṣḥafī and Momin, he imbibed their best qualities and to these he added the fervent socio-political consciousness he had gained from actual experience. Fānī Badāyūnī's *ghazals*, the sweetest music of his saddest thoughts, express the most

exquisite sentiment with beauty, passion and pathos. The appeal of his *ghazal* lies in the passionate exaltation of his anguish and his perfect gift of phrase. His work is intimately related to his life which is a story of long suffering and appalling maladjustment. Aṣghar Gondavī who is deeply influenced by Ghālib and Momin, gave a wider range to the *ghazal* by his intellectual force and hence his lyrical power is extraordinarily versatile, and he moves through the whole gamut of human emotions with consumate felicity. Jigar Murādābādī, an eminent *ghazal-writer*, is chiefly inspired by the themes of love and beauty and his vivid lyricism is marked by his sensitive analysis of the human soul and by a free and intoxicating expression of his feelings. Josh Malīḥābādī, the bard of the revolution, symbolises the revolt in the wars, the non-co-operation movement, the economic distress, the political disobedience agitation, the conflict between labour and capital, and the onrush of socialistic ideas which have largely influenced Urdu literature and particularly, encouraged the spirit of revolt. Ẓafar, Eḥsān and Māher have raised the *nazm* to its greatest heights while Sīmāb Akbarābādī and Ḥafīẓ Jullundherī have found a place in the history of Urdu poetry for the awe-inspiring vastness and magnitude of their imagination. Firāq Gorakhpūrī who has drunk deep at the fountain of occidental poetry, has assimilated its culture without any prejudice to his oriental nature.

His spiritual reaction to the problem of the day has been characterised by love, courage and revolutionary sentiment. He responds to each mood with a sensuous awareness. Fāiḍ Aḥmed Fāiḍ's *ghazals* could, to an extent, be traced back to his political experience in view of their distinction and quality. A period of political imprisonment in his life seems to lend a peculiar charm to his symbolism and a dreamy sweetness to his verses. Like Firāq, he is uneven and suffers from a sense of insecurity. Mo'īn Aḥsan Jazbī who aims at a free and natural expression of emotional life which has been attracting the poetry of sensibility, possesses a passive sadness which makes his voice impressive and his appeal intense. And the fresh tone, atmosphere and inspiration of the poetry of Rawish Ṣiddīqī, Majrūḥ Sulṭānpūrī, Nadīm Qāsimī, Sardār Jā'frī and Akhtar-ul-Imān has enriched Urdu literature.

The Progressive Movement started in 1936 with all the propagandist zeal of a new crusade. In spite of its exaggerated emphasis on a certain ideology, propounded by poets like Mīrājī and Nūn Mīm Rāshid, with the fading of the first flush of enthusiasm, it gave Urdu literature a vital stimulus, a new vigour and a liberating consciousness. Josh, Firāq, Fāiḍ, Majāz, Makhdūm, Jān Nithār and Jā'farī who are its major spokesmen are strongly and enduringly vital and realistic. Their verses are the impassioned expression of an age of poverty, slavery and

exploitation. Above all their works indicate immense possibilities. It may be noted here that the *ghazal* survived the onslaught of severe criticism all through the decade beginning with the dawn of Progressive Movement in 1936 and ending with the independence of India in 1947. That was a period of revolt and experimentation, and as such descriptive poems, songs, blank-verse and free-verse were all attempted and became more and more popular but the *ghazal* triumphed over this temporary set-back, and paved the way for its popularity again.

The short story in Urdu upto the Second World War was influenced mainly by Freud. Hence sex interest also inspired by the study of the Continental authors, stimulated the Urdu short story. A new assessment of the primal relationship of man and woman in the new social and individual background was inevitable. After the Second World War, the short story like poetry, drama and the novel, had suffered a change and fastened on a new pre-occupation with the problems of the middle class, the labourer and the peasant. It contrasted the contentment of the peasant life of the earlier social order with the discontent and misery, tyranny and exploitation and resent ment and hatred of labour in the new social order.

The modern short story in Urdu can be said to begin with Munshī Premchand. He set forth in simple

and graphic language significant episodes and intimate moments in the lives of the toiling millions. It was Premchand who rescued the short story from the marshy growth of romanticism which it had acquired from the exotic efforts of Niāz Fateḥpūrī and Sajjād Ḥāider Yelderam. The short story in Urdu, in fact, was put on a solid foundation by Premchand aided by the example of foreign masters such as Chekhov and Maupassant. The Progressive Movement also stimulated short story-writing and after 1936 the short story emerged as an important form of literature. Premchand gave the short story a purposive direction and almost reproduced in his stories the spiritual history of this tumultous period.

Premchand lapses into reformism but he has portrayed in realistic terms the personal feelings and the significant events in the lives of the people of his country. As a happy blend of art of life, his short story, *Kafan*, is the best example and marks a turning point in the history of the short story. *Angārē*, a collection of short stories by different writers, was published in 1932 and, though proscribed, greatly influenced the contemporary short story-writers. But the most significant event was the establishment of the Progressive Writers' Association in 1936 which changed the course of the short story and switched it on to realism.

During the ten years preceding independence, the short story in Urdu echoes and re-echoes the manifesto

of the progressive school. 'Alī 'Abbās Ḥusāinī, Krishṇa Chandra, Upendra Nāth A<u>sh</u>k, Aḥmed 'Alī, 'Iṣmat Cha<u>gh</u>tā'ī, Rajendra Singh Bedī, Ḥayāt-ul-lāh Anṣārī, Balwant Singh, Nadīm Qasimī, Ḥasān 'Askarī, <u>Gh</u>ulām 'Abbās, Mumtāz <u>Sh</u>īrīn, Mumtāz Muftī, Ibrāhīm Jalīs and Sā'dat Ḥasan Manto have each in his own way, contributed to the development of the short story in Urdu. Their imaginative energy breaks through all the dykes of customary form and style and has helped them to form new channels. They are concerned with the inner movements of impulse as much as with social and sociological problems and have emerged as leading short story-writers of Urdu who record their observations of human nature with candidness and dramatic effect. Aḥmed 'Alī's *Hamārī Galī* and *Mērā Kamrāh*, Kri<u>sh</u>ṇa Chandra's *Do Furlong Lambī Saṛak*, Manto's *Nayē Qānūn*, Ḥayāt-ul-lāh's *Ā<u>kh</u>irī Ko<u>sh</u>i<u>sh</u>*, and Bedi's *Garm Kot* are the best secimens of the short story in which art and life are artistically blended. Some stories no doubt, are adolescent in their appeal to the sex and are over bold and loud. Their stories are important in that they cover a wide field and possess great variety and tonal complexity. Imagination and observation have been blended and this is a happy augury for the future.

With the writers turning almost entirely to short story-writing in the immediate pre-indepencence

period, the Urdu novel which had established itself earlier, was greatly neglected.

Munshī Premchand is a giant amongst novelists in Urdu. He is very realistic and hence can portray the pains and anguish of the downtrodden in a matter-of-fact style. The economic struggle as well as the spiritual awakening is clearly evinced in his novels. His novel, *Māidān-i-'Amal*, is so different from the novels written by 'Abd-ul-Ḥalīm Sharar, Mirzā Hādī Ruswā and Rāshid-ul-Khāirī that it marks the beginning of the modern novel in Urdu. His another novel, *Go'dān*, is a masterpiece in which the life of the rural people is vividly dramatized in the form of a novel, with a variety never before reached in Urdu literature. *Amrāojān Adā* and *Zāt-i-Sharīf* of Mirzā Hādī Ruswā which are social novels, present a fine picture of Lucknow culture while *Nīlī Chhatrī, Behrām kī Giriftārī, Choroṇ kā Club* by Ẓafar 'Umar are interesting detective novels. Fāiyāḍ 'Alī has written *Shamīm* and *Anwar* which depict the life of the present age, whereas Bēgum Mirzā 'Alī's novel, *Māh-i-Darakhshāṇ*, speaks of the conflict between the east and the west and also between religion and materialism.

Translations from Arabic, Turkish, English and French novels were also made into Urdu.

During 1936-1946 the short story continued to be the dominant art form. It is only *Shikast* of Krishna

Chandra which can be classed as a readable novel although it is not as distinctive and creative as his short stories.

The entire universe of Urdu drama includes tanslation from other languages. Shāhid Aḥmed, Anṣār Nāṣerī, Faḍl-i-Ḥaq Qurāishī, Jalīl Qidwā'ī and Sālik Baṭālavī have succeeded in translations and thereby enriched the Urdu drama. While Ishtiāq Ḥusāin Qurāishī, Imtiāz 'Alī Tāj, 'Ābid Ḥusāin, Aḥmed Shujā', Mirzā Adīb and Paṇdit Kāifī have considerably extended the range of Urdu drama by producing a few social dramas which are intended to herald a really effective national literary theatre.

Imtiāz 'Alī Tāj's *Anārkalī* is the best historical play produced during the period. It vividly portrays the Mughal culture, while Ishtiāq Ḥusāin Qurāishi's *Ṣāid-i-Zabūṇ* speaks of the oppression of women and 'Ābid Ḥusāin's *Pardah-i-Ghaflat* and *Khētī* by Moḥammed Mujīb are fine works of social drama in Urdu literature.

Radio-plays like *Intezār* and *Kiā Māiṇ andar Ā saktā hūṇ* by S'ādat Ḥasan Manto are fine short mysteries. *Darwāzāh*, a collection of dramas by Krishṇa Chandra, does not enjoy the same place as his short stories. Upendra Nāth Ashk has also written readable dramas but not distinguished.

Urdu is exceptionally rich in epistolary literature which has a wide range and variety and presents in the warm, intimate language of a personal dialogue a vivid picture of the drama, thought and emotion, lived out by sensitive personalities.

The letters of Nīāz Fateḥpūrī are like soap-bubbles which are too delicate to be touched while the letters of Māulvī 'Abd-ul-Ḥaq and Ḥāmid Ḥasan Qādrī are as informal and impromptu as their conversation and as candid and unpretentious as the writers themselves. Dr. Moḥammad Iqbāl and Sāiyed Sulāimān Nadvī dashed off their letters in the intervals of multifarious literary activity but they serve as an index to their minds. The letters of Abūl Kalām Āzād entitled *Ghubār-i-Khāṭir* were not written in a hurry, rather they were given time to mature and were not dispatched till every sentence had blossomed into a flower. He spun out his letters like a silkworm in prison and they are superb in exquisite and delicate phrase and flawless artistry. Sajjād Ẓahīr also wrote letters in prison but they make dull and dismal reading.

After the First World War emphasis was laid on historical and literary criticism in Urdu, and in the light of *She'r-ul-'Ājam* of Shiblī No'amānī, *Gul-i-Rā'nā* by Sāiyed 'Abd-ul-Ḥayī and *She'r-ul-Hind* by 'Abd-us-Salām Nadvī were brought out, although the contents of both the books are the same as those of *Āb-i-Ḥayāt* of Professor Āzād. *Gul-i-Rā'nā* contains a

long introduction on the course of Urdu poetry and it also touches upon the work of a few better-known Dakhnī poets, while *She'r-ul-Hind*, in two volumes, quotes copiously from selected poets in chronological order and in the order of verse-forms which the poets employed. Rām Babū Saksēnāh wrote in English the most comprehensive history of Urdu language and literature while Lālā Srī Rām presented five volumes of *Khumkhānah-i-Jāwēd* in alphabetical order, dealing with a critical appreciation of over two thousand poets in Urdu. *Sīyar-ul-Muṣannefīn* of Moḥammed Yāḥyā Tanhā is a remarkable work on the development of Urdu prose from the end of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century with a long biographical accounts of later writers. *Āb-i-Baqā* by Khwajāh 'Abd-ur-Rāuf 'Ishrat gives critical appreciations of the poetic compositions of some Urdu poets and *Meḥbūb-uz-Zaman* by 'Abd-ul-Jabbār Khān which covers the life-sketches of Dakhnī poets is more biographical than critical. *Urdu-i-Qadīm* by Shams-ul-lāh Qādrī gives a first hand information about the early writers and the early history of Urdu. *Dakan mēṇ Urdu* by Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Hāshimī focusses the growth of Urdu and its development in the Deccan while *Punjāb mēṇ Urdu* by Maḥmūd Shīrānī contains a lot of interesting material, intended to claim a high place for the Punjab in the development of Urdu from early times. *Urdu kē Asālīb-i-Bayāṇ* by Moḥī-ud-Dīn Zore is an ingenius book on some selected prose-writers and their style but does not mention their

works. *Arbāb-i-Nathr-i-Urdu* by Sāiyed Mohammed deals with the early Urdu translators connected with the Fort William College of Calcutta, whereas *Hamārī Shā'irī* by Mas'ūd Ḥasan Riḍvī defends Urdu poetry in sketchy essays and *Tanqīdī Maqālāt* by Moḥi-ud-Dīn Zore reviews Urdu criticism with an illustrative critique. Paṇdit Dattatriyā Kāifīs *Manshūrāt-i-Kāifī* and *Kāifiāh* are remarkable books in Urdu philology and criticism. Sāiyed Sulāimān Nadvī's *Nuqūsh-i-Sulāimānī*, a work of critical appreciation and 'Abd-ul-Qādir Sarwarī's *Dunyā-i-Afsānāh*, a critique on fiction, and *Jadīd Urdu Shāi'rī*, an apprecia-tion of modern poetry, are valuable additions to Urdu literature.

With the outbreak of the First World War, Urdu *ṣaḥāfat* (journalism) acquired an increased popularity and prestige. Dispassionate criticism, contributions of first-rate importance, an uniformly high standard in style and the creation of a regular understanding and sympathy between the journalist and the reader became the essential virtue of journalism in Urdu. Journals like *Ma'ārif* from 'Āzamgarh, *Jāmi'āh* from Delhi, *Urdu* from Aurangābād, *Hindustānī* from Allah-ābād, *Humāyūn*, *Kārwān* and *Oriental College Maga-zine* from Lahore established themselves as some of the well-known and standard journals in Urdu.

After *Awadh Punch* of Lucknow there was a gap in the satiric and humorous literature in Urdu which

may be traced to the political tension then prevailing in the country. Yet Mullā Ramozī began writing satirical cum political articles in *Gulābī Urdu* which were later on published in the form of a book named *Ṣubḥ-i-Laṭāfat*. *Nukāt-i-Ramozī* is another collection of his humorous articles. Sāiyed Aḥmed Shāh Bukhārī Paṭras is noted for his sober but humorous style and *Maḍāmīn-i-Paṭras* is the best illustrtion of his qualities as a humorous writer. *Tanziāt-o-Maḍḥkāt* of Rashīd Aḥmed Ṣiddīqī is an outstanding book which surveys the entire satiric and humorous literature in Urdu. Shāukat Thānvī's *Dunyā-i-Tabassum* and *Sāudēshī Rail*, and Farḥat-ul-lāh Bēg's *Maḍāmīn-i-Farḥat* and *Rūḥ-i-Ẓarāfat* are some of the fine specimens of satiric and humorous pieces in Urdu. In short, Paṭras, Imtīāz 'Alī Tāj, Rashīd Aḥmed Ṣiddīqī, Qaḍi 'Abd-ul-Ghaffār, Kanāihyālāl Kapūr and Shāukat Thānvī write with grace and exhilarating abundance of wit and are highly resourceful in style. *Ghālib Jadīd Sho'arā' kī Majlīs mēṇ* by Kanāihyālāl Kapūr is an interesting satire on modern Urdu poets.

Biography was taken, on a scientific basis, as an important branch of literature in Urdu and as such biographies of Māulānā Moḥammed 'Alī, Kamāl Atā Tūrk, Nādir Shāh, Mahātmā Gāndhī and Moḥammed 'Alī Jināḥ were published, giving a critical appreciation of their activities in life in the most dignified language. Moḥi-ud-Dīn Zore came out with his two

biographies, namely, *Hayāt-i-Moḥammed Qulī Quṭub Shāh* and *Hayāt-i-Momin*, the former is the life-sketch of Moḥammed Qulī Quṭub Shāh, and the latter the life and poetry of Mīr Momin, a Persian poet who visited the Quṭub Shāhī court during the regime of Moḥammed Qulī Quṭub Shāh. Qamar-ud-Dīn wrote an appreciation of Akbar Allahābādī, the great satirical poet of Urdu, under the title of *Bazm-i-Akbar*, while Tālib Allahābādī's *Akbar*, is another work of critical appreciation of the same poet.

The chief characteristic of this period was Ghālibism which influenced and inspired many biographies, commentaries and also illustrated editions of his poetic compositions. 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf wrote in English on Ghalib. The main object of this book was to show the demerits of Mirzā Ghālib, the gigantic poet of India while 'Abd-ur- Reḥmān Bijnorī came out with *Maḥāsin-i-Kalām-i-Ghālib*, giving the beauties of Mirzā Ghālib's poetry. In reply to the earlier book, Shāikh Ikrām took the middle path and wrote *Ghālib-Nāmāh*. In this biography he considers the life of Mirzā Ghālib from a psychological and evolutionary angle, and works in the light of the modern principles of biography. *Muraqqa'-i-Chaghtā'ī* by 'Abd-ur-Reḥmān Chaghtā'ī is a remarkable work with illustrations of Mirzā Ghālib's poetry. Ghulām Rasūl Meher wrote *Ghālib* and Mālik Rām produced *Zikr-i-Ghālib*.

Again a variety of serious works which claim to be models of clarity, erudition adaptation, and research

were produced on scientific, historical, religious and other serious subjects by a large number of writers in Urdu, of whom Abūl Kalām Āzād, Khwajāh Ghulām-us-Sāiyedāin, Zākir Ḥusāin, Sāiyed Sulāimān Nadvī, 'Abd-ul-Mājed Daryābādī, Niāz Fateḥpūrī stand out as the most prominent. Sāiyed Sulāimān wrote *'Arḍ-ul-Qurān*, discussing the geography of the Qurān while Abūl Kalām Āzād came out with his *Tarjumān-ul-Qurān*, a masterpiece brought out at the instance and insistence of his friends and admirers, revealing the knowledge and philosophy of the Qurān as a messenger of universal humanity. An authentic book on Indo-Arab relations was written by Sāiyed Sulāimān Nadvī entitled *'Arab-o-Hind kē Ta'lluqāt* and a book named *'Umar Khāiyām*, the Persian philosopher-poet, detailing the peculiarities of his philosophy with special reference to his quatrains. Shāikh Ikram's *Āb-i-Kāuthar* and *Māuj-i-Kāuthar* deal with the religious and educational aspects of Muslims. The books are based on oriental and occidental sources. *Tārīkh-ul-Umam*, *Tārīkh-i-Hind* and *Tārīkh-i-Dāulat-i-'Uthmāniāh* by 'Abd-us-Salām are good historical works. Maḥmūd Banglōrī's *Sulṭān-i-Shahīd*, Aḥmed Qādrī's *Chāndbībī* and Shāikh Chānd's *Malik 'Ambar* are good additions to historical literature in Urdu. Again *Safar-i-Ḥijāz* by 'Abd-ul-Mājed Daryābādī and *Naqsh-i-Farang* by Qāḍī 'Abd-ul-Ghaffār are interesting and instructive travelogues in Urdu, written in an elegant and delightful style.

During the post-war period Urdu has been on the threshold of a new era with singular possibilities. There has been a change of scene and a change in the *dramatis personae*. Apart from the introduction of Urdu as a medium of instruction and examination in the *'Uthmāniāh University* of Hyderabad, the meritorious services rendered by the *Dār-ul-Muṣannefīn* of 'Āzamgarh, the *Hindustānī Academy* of Allahābād, the *Jāmi'āh Milliāh* of Delhi and the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu* of Auangābād and later of Delhi to the cause of Urdu in the form of a variety of literary productions, accelerated the growth of the traditions of literature in Urdu, sowing the seed of a greater and fuller cultural heritage for the future.

Post-Independence Period

THE post-independence era is the most vital period in the history of Urdu literature. It has left its impact on all its perspectives, with the result that Urdu has widened its scope and enriched its literature by welcoming the new trends prevalent after the dawn of independence in 1947, an event of vital political and historical significance. The Indian Independcence was coupled wih the division of the country, and was followed by communal riots with a display of bloodshed and inhuman behaviour. As the literature of a nation is its mirror-holder, Urdu literature could not become an exception to it. Hence the poets, the playwrights, the essayists, the journalists, the novelists and the short story-writers in Urdu could not escape this cynical and inhuman attitude of the masses. Freedom undoubtedly had come but not the freedom which our writers had dreamt of or rather the poets had sung about ; it was a blemished freedom which dawned upon us in the wake of communal disturances of unprecedented ferocity and unbelievable brutality. It was most difficult for the writers who had

lived through it to transmute their experience into art. It did give ample material for sarcasm, irony, comedy, farce, satire, denunciation and melodrama but not for epics or lyrics; thus poetry, reportage, parody, drama, journalism, and the short story in Urdu echo the cry of the massacred innocent, the humiliation, the agony and the benumbing despair, following these gruesome and tragic incidents.

The year 1947 is a landmark or rather a forerunner of a literary revolution and as such Urdu poetry, judged as a whole, indicates that it is stimulating and is fraught with immense possibilities. It has most faithfully presented our patriotic fervour, our secular attitude and cosmopolitan outlook, our struggle for independence as well as for social and economic emancipation, the anguish of communal frenzy and the stupendous problem of rehabilitation.

Poets of the post-independence era are mostly turning to *ghazal*, the best medium for the expression of the pangs and pains of the poet. It voices the restlessness and confusion of the time and its symbolism is best suited to the poet's temperament. Its art and technique embodies the entire range of experience. Hence *ghazal* prevails over *nazm* or the other species as it depicts a true and correct picture of various modes of humanity of the age with which the poet comes in contact. Poets are going back to the long established conventions of *ghazal* and they are trying

to imitate the poetry of the ancient poets of Urdu whose works reflect their pains and anguish in the most moving manner. The influence of Mīr, Sāudā, Qā'im, Yaqīn and Soz is particularly felt as the pains and the anguish of these poets are very much akin to the pains and pangs of today. Firāq Gorakhpūrī, Ḥafīẓ Hūshiārpūrī, Nāṣir Kāẓemī and Bāqī Ṣiddīqī are the heralds of this trend, while 'Ābid 'Alī 'Ābid has accepted the impact of the *ghazals* of the ancient Urdu poets in a different manner and style.

The *ghazal* is the best medium for the successful interpretation and reflection of the feelings and pains of the human beings who lived through the unfortunate happenings and incidents of beastiality during the communal tension.

Again the element of despair became conspicuous when the hopes and desires which they had cherished at the attainment of freedom were crushed and trampled down. The reflections of this trend is seen in the *ghazals* of Faḍl-i-Karīm Faḍlī and Ḥafīẓ Hūshiārpūrī.

In the present set-up of things many experiments are being made, the reflection of which is seen in the *ghazals* of today. The synthesis of the tradition, the novelty, and the pangs of the time have been brought out by Fāiḍ Aḥmed Fāiḍ, Ibn Inshā', and Nāṣir Kāẓemī. The experiments made as regards technique, mode and ideology, are remarkable in the annals of the *ghazals*.

The romantic as well as the mystic element is on the wane while the study of man and the world is more in vogue.

Urdu poetry on the whole, is flourishing and progressing as ever before. In this era, *ghazal*, *nazm* and *blank-verse* are progressing but the *sonnet* and *gīt* are almost neglected as the *gīt-writers* of Urdu like Shakīl Badāyūnī have joined the films. It may be maintained here that some of the poetical pieces like *Akēlī* of Balrāj Komal, *Khūn kī Lakīr* of Sardār Jā'farī and *Nayā Safar hāi Purānē Chirāgh Gul kardo* of Sāhir Ludhiānavī depict the gruesome tragedy of the partition days in a moving manner while *Saniorium* of Mustafā Zāidī, *Korea sē Bangal tak* of Himāyat 'Alī and *Raqs-i-Nā tamām* of Sikandar 'Alī Wajd reveal the poets' indivuality with the most artistic sincerity. The blank-verse in Urdu has widened its scope with the passage of time and especially after independence. Nūn Mīm Rāshid, Balrāj Komal and Sardār Jā'farī are considered the most representative champions of this form who have given new life and vigour to it. New forms and styles are introduced in *ghazal* as it is considered the most satisfactory medium for the expression of the inner soul. And as such the verses of Jagan Nāth Āzād which have a unity of mood, tone and idea and those of Sāghar Nizāmī which carry the fragrance of ecstatic life, represent a particular phase of *ghazal*. It may be mentioned that Urdu poetry has a seriousness of purpose and the courage

to go ahead. The poet of today is trying to help his nation with a range and reverence that is at once wide and inspiring. Urdu poetry no dubt, will go a long way if the balance and collaboration of emotion and intellect are maintained as these are the prerequisites of true creation in the poetic art.

The progress made by the short story in Urdu during the post-independence era has been rather slow but it must be admitted that the writers break new ground in technique and story-craft. They have succeeded in giving the Urdu story a definite lead in many directions. The dawn of independence brought with it endless variety of theme and treatment for the short story-writers in Urdu which filled the rather small gallery of the stereotyped Urdu story. It portrays a variety of living and vivid characters drawn from the real lives of struggling, impatient and sceptical men in particular. The traditional love-sick-hero of the Urdu story gave place to the uprooted refugee, the abducted girl, the man with a sickened conscience, the exploiter, the opportunist, the poor honest people who were lost between ethical and economic sonsiderations, the conscientious humanist whose loyalty and patriotism was doubted. Hence a new set of characters crept into the short story in Urdu, and in the short stories like *Kholdo* and *Thanḍā Gosht* Manto's satire is that of Swift. *Taṣāuwar-i-Shāikh*, *Zarrīn Tāj* and *Sastāh Pāisāh*, the short stories written by 'Azīz Aḥmed, are outstanding in the creation of character

and atmosphere with a balanced view and genial approach. *Taṣāuwar-i-Shāikh* is a fine specimen of his character delineation, keen observation and intimate knowledge of subject-matter, while his *Zarrīn Tāj* and *Madansenā āur Ṣadiān*, a translation of Flaubert's Madame Bovary in French, fulfil all the artistic and technical requirements of a short story except for the defect of a plot within a plot. Krishṇa Chandra's *Ham Waḥshī hāiṇ* is an intense appeal for sanity and toleration while *Sonē kā Aṇḍā* and *Chāuthī kā Joṛā* of 'Iṣmat Chaghā'ī are remarkable for the originality of theme and delineation of character. Aḥmed Nadīm Qāsimī in his short stories presents rural life with all its romance and poverty—the grandeur of nature so touchingly contrasted with the plight of the farmers. His *Nayā Farhād* and *Ātish-i-Gul* portray the inner movements of the impulse and lay stress on human values. Ḥayāt-ul-lāh Anṣārī's *Mozoṇ kā Kārkhānāh* and Rajendra Singh Bedī's *Lājwantī* are fine short stories in Urdu, dealing with the day-to-day problems of life. Khwajāh Aḥmed 'Abbās has a lively style and his short stories have a political message wih a creative faculty. Balwant Singh gives some short stories about Sikh life but when he chooses plots from his familiar spheres of life, he gets hopelessly foundered in bathos and false sentimentality and eroticism. Qurrat-ul-'Āin Ḥāider's *Sitāroṇ sē Āgē* has a freshness of style and technique, and the subject is no other than the dying love for beauty which outlives death and decay. Ibn Sa'īd is inspired by the rich beauty and

grandeur of the Far East and influenced by the technique of the short story of the West. ***Ek Dīwār*** of Ibn Sa'īd deals with post-war Japan while ***Naryal kē Sāyē*** of Ae Ḥamīd has wartime Burma as its settling. ***Bhārat Nātiāh*** and ***Dīpak Rāg*** of Mumtāz Shīrīn display an original technique. In ***Dīpak Rāg*** various moods of characters are revealed into different sections, making up altogether a well-knit and patch work pattern of ideas, emotions and characters.

To sum up, the short story in Urdu has progressed and new experiments have been made with regard to artistic sincerity and technique. Some of the short story-writers in Urdu were caught up in the sub-conscious world of Freud and the communism of Marx. As a result they ignored all other human values. It may be noted that some of the literary productions in this branch have faithfully mirrored the social environment of our age. The short story-writers in Urdu who comprise a group, representing an enormous variety of schools of thought and modes of expression, have been bold in execution and realistic in presentation of the spiritual struggle of our age and have also been in search of the beautiful spots in life. It is only the artistic life and a becoming concern for technique that can make this form more appealing and attractive.

The post-independence era has given a new life to the novel in Urdu. The short story-writers in Urdu

have now turned to novel writing and 'Iṣmat Chaghtā'ī, 'Azīz Aḥmed and Qurrat-ul-'Āin Ḥāider, are considered as the most representative novelist of Urdu. 'Iṣmat Chaghtā'i's *Tēṛhī Lakīr* gives a fine presentation of the theme in a fresh technique. It presents a close up picture of a middle class Muslim family whose social bearings are unhinged by the sex motif. 'Azīz Aḥmed's *Gurez* is a brilliant piece of literature in which sex is treated with audacity and indelicacy. His other novels, *Āisī Bulandī Āisī Pastī* and *Shabnam*, are readable. It is a fact that *Tēṛhī Lakīr* and *Gurez* have been considered repulsive on account of over emphasis on sex, but the art and the technique of the novels cannot be ignored. Qurrat-ul-'Āin Ḥāider has produced two important novels entitled *Mērē bhī Ṣanam Khānē* and *Safīnah-i-Gham-i-Dil* full of humanity. She has employed with occasional success the stream of consciousness of technique. Aḥsan Fārūqī in his novel, *Shām-i-Awadh*, is satirical of the shams of modern life. Ramānand Sāgar's novel, *Āur Insān Mar gayā*, is a fascinating study of a sensitive soul, torn in the tumult and storm of the communal riots of the partition days and represents a firm and study approach to the mass madness of those dark days when millions of innocents were massacred, hundreds of homes were shattered and acts of cruelty and inhuman behaviour were manifested. *Andhērā Khwāb* of Ḥijāb Imtiāz 'Alī presents a psychological analysis of the characters of the novel in the most scientific manner.

Speaking in general, the archtypes of Urdu novel seem to be the woman, the labourer and the peasant.

With the independence of the country and the assimilation of world culture, Urdu drama grew up and tried to make up for its earlier deficiency. The dramatic literature of today covers human sentiment and human action and also the urges and demands of the time as well as of the environment. In the present era, one-act-plays and radio-dramas or features are becoming more popular because they fulfil the requirements of age. They are either original plays or translations of western dramas in a matter-of-fact style, retaining the flavour and spirit of the original. There is a tendency to translate Greek dramas also into Urdu. The radio-play or feature is written against the national background which speaks of the needs and urges of the time with a tinge of satire. They are on the increase with the passage of time, making new experiments with regard to form and technique and definitely show signs of improvement.

It may be noted that Urdu drama cannot prosper in the absence of theatre—the theatre is a prerequisite for the progress of drama. Urdu drama which is still alive in books and magazines and also in educational and cultural institutions, is looking forward with hope for a theatre.

'Ābid 'Alī 'Ābid's *Zindagī kī Talāsh meṇ*, an one-act play and Upendra Nāth Ashk's *Talāuwan*, a play of

four acts, are social dramas. Mirzā Adīb has written *Nand Kumār* which is a historical play. And Kanāih-yālāl Kapūr's *Kalāunās͟h ʻurf Sattiānās͟h*, a farce, and Qudrat-ul-lāh S͟hihāb's *Surk͟h Fītāh*, a satire, are fine pieces of dramatic literature as regards theme and technique.

With the division of the country in 1947, journalism in Urdu changed its course both in India and Pakistan. This is to be admitted that in spite of modern machinery, vastly increased readership and other sources of encouragement, journalism in Urdu is still unprogressive. The old guard is keeping aloof because of the political barriers and the younger generation with not enough experience and untried ability is holding the stage, and consequently, there is no valuable contribution to Urdu journalism. The Urdu journalists of today are generally involved in personal affairs rather than concerned about national issues.

Although journalism in Urdu is not in tune with the present requirements of the nation and the urges of the time yet it has included in its scope literary and scientific discourses along with the political, social and economic problems of the day. Apart from news items, literary, philosophical, scientific and cultural subjects are becoming part and parcel of journalism in Urdu. During the post-independence era, a finer literary taste is revealed in the form of special numbers

on particular personality or aspects of literature with newer, fresher and more vigorous ideas. *Shakhṣiāt Number* and *Makātīb Number* of *Nuqūsh* from Lahore, *Aṣnāf-i-Sukhan Number* of *Nigār* from Lucknow, and *Drāmā Number* of *Adab-i-Laṭīf* from Lahore, can be cited by way of examples. Again the Urdu journalists have been striving to solve the refugee problem and also rehabilitation—rather helping their respective governments in tackling this most complicated and intricate problem. At times they have been very critical of government policies and that too with courage and boldness. It is noteworthy that since independence the number of Urdu dailies, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies has increased as ever before, showing the vastly increased readership. Journalism in Urdu would certainly make its mark in the field of literature provided the journalists give up their personal interests and practise sanity and normality in the larger interest of their country.

Amonst the literary journals are *Sāqī*, *Afkār*, *Mashrab* from Karachi, *Nuqūsh*, *Adab-i-Laṭīf* from Lahore, *Ma'ārif* from 'Āzamgarh, *Nigār* from Lucknow, *Mu'āṣir* from Patna, *Ājkal* from Delhi, *Nayā Dāur* from Lucknow, *Burhān* from Delhi, *Shā'ir* from Bombay and *Urdu Adab*, a quarterly, from 'Aligarh, *Nawā-i-Adab*, a quarterly, and *Kārwān-i-Adab*, an annual, from Bombay—all these journals are of a high standard.

Criticism in Urdu has passed through various stages and thus social, economic, impressionistic and psychological trends have crept into it with the passage of time. The trends which are current and the reflections of which are manifest, indicate the gradual development of criticism in Urdu, which has been more or less in harmony with the ways and modes of life. With the changes in life a variety of trends have made their appearance. These embody in Urdu literature a variety of thoughts and ideas, and consequently, this variety has widened the scope of criticism. Since Indian Independence the trend of practical criticism has widened the scope of our literary criticism and consequently, enriched critical literature in Urdu. Shakīl-ur-Reḥmān has written critical articles on progressive poets and short story-writers of Urdu, while Dēvendra Issar has analysed the short story of Reutī Saran in a matter-of-fact style.

The speed in Urdu criticism is rather satisfactory as new trends have been incorporated in the criticism which has been changing with the passage of time. Critics like Āl-i-Aḥmed Surūr have found a mid-way and thereby acknowledged the importance of tradition and western thought to express the new urges of our age. This approach is undoubtedly, a guarantee for the evolution of Urdu literary criticism. The post-independence era has given us critics like Mumtāz Ḥusāin who is of the extreme type, and Khalīl-ur-Reḥmān, Uslūb Aḥmed, Āl-i-Aḥmed Surūr, Wiqār

'Azīm, Khwajāh Aḥmed Fārūqī, Moḥammed Ḥasan, Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Hāshimī, Khurshīd-ul-Islām, and Ẓahīr Kashmīrī. *Nayē āur Purānē Chirāgh* of Āl-i-Aḥmed Surūr is a liberal and occasionally brilliant but always controlled by a sense of responsibility and without any prejudice, while *Rewāyat āur Baghāwat* of Eḥteshām Ḥusāin does indicate much of socialistic interpretation of life in literature. Besides articles written on criticism in Urdu journals with fresh trends, *Urdu Tanqīd kā Irtiqā'* by 'Ibādat Brēlvī and *Taraqqī Pasand Adab* by Sardār Jā'farī which are scientific in their approach, are remarkable additions to Urdu critical literature.

With the mass hatred of the post-independence period, *reportage* which was the outcome of the pressing needs of the time, has taken a new form of expression in Urdu which indicates a firm humanistic stand taken by the Urdu writers. And as such *Pāudē* of Krishṇa Chandra, *Khizāṇ kē Phūl* of 'Ādil Rashīd, *Chhaṭṭā Daryā* of Fikr Tonsvī, *Jab Bandhan Ṭūṭe* of Tājwar Sāmrī, and *Do Mūlk ēk Kahānī* of Ibrāhīm Jalīs are the best specimens of reportage which represent a kind of triumph in Urdu literature. *Montage* has also become a part of Urdu literature and as such Khwajāh Aḥmed 'Abbās's *Montage* is a satirical piece in Urdu literature. Similarly, *parody* in Urdu also is on the march ahead, and consequently, it is taking a definite shape in Urdu poetry especially with a touch of sarcasm and irony.

Satire and humour in Urdu since independence is quite different as our humour is mixed with bloodshed and inhuman behaviour of the masses. Humour in Urdu is becoming rather dry and as a result, the humorous and satirical pieces which have appeared in Urdu prose and poetry are not remarkable because firstly, the humorists in Urdu are too few and secondly, elders in this field seem to be discouraged by the confusion and chaos of our age.

Rashīd Aḥmed Ṣiddīqī, Kanāiḥyālāl Kapūr, Shafīq-ur-Reḥmān, Ibrāḥīm Jalīs are acknowledged humorists but they have not made any good contribution after 1947 to this branch of literature except a few articles in Urdu magazines and journals or periodicals.

Epistolary literature in Urdu which has a wide range and variety, is rich but after independence it has not made any appreciable contribution. The letters of Ṣafiāḥ Akhtar, wife of Jāṇ Nithār Akhtar, a progressive poet, under the name of *Zēr-i-Lab* display extreme vitality and intensity of emotion with a clear picture of the social and political background, while *Makātīb Number* of *Nuqūsh* and *Goyā Dabistān Khūl gayā* of Moḥammed 'Alī Radolvī are no doubt, admirable additions to epistolary literature in Urdu in recent times.

It is Urdu literature which enables us, to a great extent, to reconstruct the history of India from the

eighteenth century to the present day. Urdu manuscripts and records which are available in the libraries and private collections in Europe, Western Asia and India, have remained untapped and are virtually lost to us. It is therefore, a momentous event in Urdu literature that the University of Delhi has recently procured microfilms of some rare and precious Urdu manuscripts, and the University Grants Commission has approved of the implementation of the scheme of the Delhi University, publishing rare Urdu manuscripts, which will throw light on the cultural and social history of India. One text, edited by Khwajāh Aḥmed Fārūqī, will be published once a year, which will, no dobt, enrich our culture and history.

Urdu literature which has given us all forms during the post-independence era, reflects all the trends. It is compact of life and charm, and is stimulating, humane and mindful of its social obligations. A living literature is that which is the mirror-holder of the perpetual life of a nation, and consequently, it is a messenger of humanity, an artist of culture, an interpreter of life and a voice of the people. And Urdu literature which has lived through all revolutions, is a living force and it reflects all the trends which have crept into it from time to time.

Recapitulation

THE word *Urdu* in Turkish means army or camp and as a language, Urdu, is popularly regarded as an off-spring of Persian and was born and nursed in the camps and capitals of Muslim rulers in India. The preponderance of Persian words, Persian prosody and Persian script in Urdu has led to a wrong notion in the popular mind about the origin of this language. It is, in fact, a dialect of Western Hindi, known as *Kharī Bolī*, spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi and its suburbs for years. It has directly descended from *Saur Senic Prakrit*. This living dialect became the basis of Urdu, retaining the original but essential character in the grammatical system. Pronouns, verbs, numerals, idioms, phrases and a large number of Hindi words—all establish incontrovertibly its parentage. In its infancy, Urdu was quite simple and homely. It could cope with the requirements of the people whose needs were few and whose outlook on life was limited. But with the development of Urdu into a literary language, its vocabulary was enriched with borrowings from Persian and through Persian from

Arabic and Turkish and its ***Perso-Arabic script*** was ***Hindiised,*** as it adopted the Persian-Arabic alphabets with certain modifications and additions of the letters of the alphabets for those sounds which are peculiar to the Hindi language. It also borrowed Persian prosody which is the prosody of Arabic, in addition to Hindi prosody. It is admitted that the Muslims brought with them many new things which had no denominations in any Indian vernacular, with the result that Persian terminology relating to dress, food, religion and various other things was incorporated in Urdu. Being the language of the court for over eight hundred years in India, Persian became the language of chivalry, war and love. The people on account of its sonorous, refined and pleasing cadence were attracted to Persian words, if only, to please their masters, and the pedants to parade their learning, affected Persian words. All this brought about a mixed vocabulary of a modified form of vernacular. This speech in Delhi was called *Zabān-i-Urdu* or *Zabān-i-Urdu-i-Mu'allā*, meaning the language of the camp or the exalted camp by the Mughals for the first time in order to distinguish it from ***Kharī Bolī*** which in course of time spread over the city into the suburbs and even into the surrounding districts. With the object of distinguishing it from the unmixed vernacular of the people and also from the Persian of the court, the word *zabān* was dropped and the language came to be called just Urdu. It must be noted that the word *Urdu* for army had been in Persian since 1150, as it is found more

than once in the *Tārīkh-i-Jahānkushā'* of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Juwāinī with that meaning. Urdu literature took its start with poetry, and poetry was a toy in the hands of Persian scholars who dressed it up in garments of Persianised words. Urdu poetry in the end modelled itself on Persian types. Not only were words imported from Persian but Persian constructions were also annexed. It is undoubtedly the impact of Persian which lifted the dialect to the dignity of a language.

Perfect amity and agreement between the two peoples tended to foster the development of a new language which was a connecting link. A reform in the revenue accounts by Rājā Todar Mal during the regime of Akbar was of far-reaching importance to Urdu. Accounts hitherto were kept in Hindi, and the Muslim administrators who knew only their Persian, were at a disadvantage to understand and check them without the help of interpreters. The gulf that yawned between the Hindi and Persian speaking-members of the revenue department was bridged by a mutual need and effort to study each other's language. The impetus given at the time of Akbar led to the consolidation and standardisation of the language which attained its full stature during the regime of Shāh Jahāṉ and prepared the language as a fit medium for all literary purposes. The work of refining, crystallising and consolidating began then, continued and in course of time Urdu asserted itself as a weapon of great flexibility

and strength capable of leading itself to the requirements of the various literary forms.

Urdu language as a matter of fact, has been brought up to this stage by the efforts of the Brahmins of Kashmir, Kayesths of Uttar Pradesh, Sikhs of the Punjab, Parsis of Bombay, Christians of Calcutta and the Muslims all over India in particular. In course of time it acquired its mystical cast of thought and cosmopolitan outlook and attitude. And as such it presents an aspect of our composite *Indian Culture* in its entirety, displaying unity in diversity. Urdu as its name suggests has been susceptible to the changes of the time and to urges and demands of a changed environment, and it is on account of this that it has been assimilating new trends, new modes, new rythms, new styles and new idealogies and ideas and thus adapting itself to the changed circumstances.

Urdu has been influenced by three events of historical importance and political significance, namely, the National Revolution of 1857, the First World War of 1914 and the Indian Independence of 1947 which have been responsible for new trends, stimulated by the changing conditions and prevalent state of affairs. The 1857 *Revolution* instilled in us the spirit of national ism and awakened in us the sentiment of patriotism, the 1914 *War* brought with it the socialistic or rather the extreme type of socialistic tendencies, making us conscious of social and economic emancipation, and the

1947 *Independence*, as it was linked with the partition of the country, thrust us initially into the horrors of communal frenzy and thereafter, presented fresh problems, facing a new, free and independent nation. These three vital and important dates have left their impact on almost all Indian vernaculars in general and and on Urdu in particular and as a result, the element of patriotism became conspicuous in Urdu literature after 1857, while the cry of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and scarcity took its roots in Urdu literature after 1914 and a concrete shape in 1936 when the Progressive Movement started functioning. This Movement gave a directive that art should be the interpreter of life and as such literature should include in its scope all the aspects of life, with the result that the progressive tendencies began to creep into Urdu literature. And the cry of the massacred innocent and the benumbing despair along with the fresh problems facing an independent nation became part and parcel of Urdu literature after the dawn of independence in 1947.

Urdu as a living force has lived through all the upheavals and revolutions and reflects all the trends in thought brought about by the fusion of individual feelings and strivings wih social values, experience and judgment.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

CONSONANTS

ا	*alif*	*a*
آ	*alif-ul-madd*	*ā*
ب	*ba*	*b*
بھ	*bha*	*bh*
پ	*pa*	*p*
پھ	*pha*	*ph*
ت	*ta*	*t*
تھ	*tha*	*th*
ٹ	*ṭa*	*ṭ*
ٹھ	*ṭha*	*ṭh*
ث	*t͟ha*	*t͟h*
ج	*jīm*	*j*
جھ	*jha*	*jh*
چ	*cha*	*ch*

چھ	*chha*	...	...	... *chh*
خ	*kha*	...	...	... *kh*
ح	*ḥa*	...	...	... *ḥ*
د	*dāl*	...	...	... *d*
ڈ	*ḍāl*	...	...	... *ḍ*
ذ	*zāl*	...	...	... *z*
ر	*ra*	...	...	... *r*
ڑ	*ṛa*	...	...	... *ṛ*
ز	*za*	...	...	... *z*
ژ	*ẕa*	...	...	... *ẕ*
س	*sīn*	...	...	... *s*
ش	*shīn*	...	...	... *sh*
ص	*ṣād*	...	...	... *ṣ*
ض	*ḍād*	...	...	... *ḍ*
ط	*ṭa*	...	...	... *ṭ*
ظ	*ẓa*	...	...	... *ẓ*
ع	*'āin*	...	...	... '
غ	*ghāin*	...	...	... *gh*
ف	*fa*	...	...	... *f*
ق	*qāf*	...	...	... *q*
ک	*kāf*	...	...	... *k*
کھ	*kha*	...	...	... *kh*

گ	*ga*	...	...	... *g*
گھ	*gha*	...	...	... *gh*
ل	*lām*	...	...	... *l*
م	*mīm*	...	...	... *m*
ن	*nūn (dental)*	...	...	... *n*
ں	*nūn (nasal)*	...	...	... *ṇ*
و	*wāv*	...	...	... *o, v, w*
ہ	*ha*	...	...	... *h*
ء	*hamzā*	...	...	... '
ی	*ya*	...	...	... *ī, y*
ے	*ya*	...	...	... *ē, i*

VOWELS

a for short *fat-ḥa* or *zabar*
e, i for short *kisrah* or *zēr*
o, u for short *ḍammah* or *pēsh*
ā for long *fat-ḥa* or *zabar*
ē, ī for long *kisrah* or *zēr*
ū for long *ḍammah* or *pēsh*

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